National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. | Without Concealment—Without Compromise. | EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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"The Peculiar Institution."

We copy from the *Saturday Visiter* another Chapter of Mrs. Swisshelm's experiences in a Slave State:

We have somehow got into the humor of telling the Ploughboy man about our visit to Kentucky. We went there with the prospect of settling! Mr. Swisshelm wanted to go West to better his fortunes, and we were both attracted to Kentucky by her climate, soil, and the character of her people for chivalry and hospitality. Had he at once sold out here, gone there and set up in style, we might have been more favorably impressed; but as it was, we both left nearly all at home in real estate, and went to look before leaping. The little he claimed here would have purchased a township of much better land in very desirable situations in Kentucky, but it would not suffice to *stock* it with other than horses, cows, sheep and swine. If he could have held his own plow, and we made our own butter without getting down to the level of slaves, we should likely have been a Kentucky farmer's wife to-day.

We took boarding at a private family. Our hostess was the daughter of a wealthy Kentucky farmer, of an old family in the State. She had evidently been a beautiful woman, and had brought her husband a considerable fortune in slaves. He was likewise a native, and had inherited, from his father, real estate in the immediate vicinity of Louisville, which would have been a princely fortune; but with the improvident habits which Slavery produces in the white population he had spent all. Her slaves had been sold one by one, until there was none left. Her waiting maid, of whom she spoke with much affection, had been seduced by her husband when the child was only fourteen. Then, to use her own words, "I could not bear her in my sight, and sold her to an Orleans trader."

It was curious to trace the feeling she evinced toward this girl her slave and rival—a merchantable commodity, which she had declared she had loved as her own child. She would kindle with enthusiasm when describing the beauty of her face and form, the long, wavy black hair she had so often combed herself, and trained into ringlets around her fingers. Once she broke suddenly off in her description, and with her eyes running over with tears exclaimed:

'I brought her up as my own child, Mrs. Swisshelm"

"Did you teach her to read, Mrs. —— ?'

"No."

"And how did you expect one with her beauty to resist all the temptations and remain virtuous, with the void of ignorance in her soul—unable to read the name of the God that made her? and how will you, a professed Christian, account to Him for permitting an immortal committed to your care, to grow up in such heathen darkness? Was it a wonder she betrayed you."

"It was'nt her fault, poor thing. I was from home and he beat her until she had to comply, though she hated him, for she always did."

She was nervous and irritable, had lived with her husband long after all traces of affection or respect was obliterated, and was not very careful about speaking of his faults. Still she had no idea the crime she thus betrayed was very uncommon or very heinous. No one appeared to consider them amenable to the divine law; the beastial sensuality was only gentlemanly. A crime that here would render a man the horror and execration of a neighborhood and make him liable to imprisonment for life was scarcely a peacadillo there. Women scarcely appear to think of the moral turpitude of their husbands, fathers and brothers becoming the forcible violators of female chastity, but simply indulge in petty jealousies of their own servants. It was scarcely five moments after Mrs. —— had made this horrid confession, until her lips were quivering with rage as she spoke of the "Sassy Niggers," whose society was preferred by gentlemen before the company of their lawful wives.

At another time this lady lamented the intestate death of a bachelor uncle who, she said, had always promised to devise her two of his sons—to use her own words, "Two as beautiful boys as ever the sun shone on." Their mother was his slave, and had been compelled to become his mistress by kicks, blows and scourgings. This confession was made in answer to our questioning. She admitted this state of affairs to be a great evil, but one for which there was no remedy. It must not be thought from these two instances, that the majority of female slaves are the unwilling victims of their masters. On the contrary, few of them appeared to us, to have any idea that virtue was other than a name, or would be any virtue in them. We have heard them speak, with the utmost indifference, of their own degradation. The gay attire of female slaves in Southern cities, has often been cited as proof that they are better off than the poor colored people in the North. Our opinion is that in nine cases out of ten their finery is purchased by prostitution. We once heard a tall, fine looking mulatto woman tell a mantua-maker to keep her dress, after she had fitted it on and found it all right, until the next day, remarking, the baby had been sick and she could not get out. People are a little cautious about dealing with slaves, lest they may have stolen the money they give; and to some questions from the mantua-maker about where she expected to get the money, she answered carelessly.

"O, get it from the men, you know; Missus said I might go out to-night."

Both were strangers to us. We had stepped into the shop to purchase some trifle, but we afterwards learned that the yellow woman's name was Arman, a slave and nursery maid in the family of a wealthy and pious man, whose children were growing up in the arms and under the influence of a woman like this.

But our hostess. Having lost all her own slaves, she resorted to the expedient of hiring other peoples.' She had one old woman, near seventy, to cook, for whose services she paid another lady one hundred and seventy-five dollars per annum. The old woman slept in the basement kitchen beside her cooking stove, and on the other side, in the opposite corner, lay an accumulation of chicken feathers and offal, potato skins, pea hulls, &c. This appeared to be no uncommon state of affairs for a kitchen. That is the domicil of the slaves, and a dirty set of creatures they are. The old woman caught cold, and took an inflammation in her eyes, which completely closed them up. She would not work, no substitute could be obtained; so Missus and her three daughters had to turn into the kitchen, and was not that the job of journey work? Maybe the boy would be out of sight, no water in, dinner hour coming, the vegetables boiling dry, and the pump out on the street. Our hearts used rarely to ache for the perplexities the four had in doing what we could have done so easily with our Pennsylvania freedom to move about domestic ceremonies. They did not appear to have the slightest idea of inconvenience. Everything was as far away from everything as it was possible to place it in the space they occupied. Labor was to be done by slaves, and there was no idea of labor saving. One was toiling and going, fetching and bringing, running and carrying all day long, that should have been just at hand. But the old woman did not get well as soon as they thought she should—but wages were running on, and she was noways interested in their payment, so she took her time like Lucy Long. Mrs. —— sent for her mistress to consult about sending her to the work-house and there having her whipped by the constable before her eyes.

We were present at the consultation, for our hostess was really anxious to convince us of her unwillingness to subject the old woman to punishment, and hoped we might have some influence to induce the mistress to remit some of the wages. And there we sat in a Kentucky parlor, to hear two Kentucky ladies, dressed in silk, consult seriously about having a Kentucky grandmother publicly and legally whipped at the whipping-post, for having sore eyes. The case was a hard one. Mrs. —— could not afford to pay wages for one who could not or would not work. Mrs. —— —— could not afford to do without her wages, for they were an important part of her dependence. Her milliner's bill was to pay, and she wanted a new satin dress. These were as necessary to her comfort as cold water was to ours. The old woman had toiled for sixty years—nursed children that one by one had been sold from her, until she was now alone: and she had begun to grow crazy. We had an idea that if she had been working for herself she could have groped about even in the dark as she was, and done a good many turns; but as it was, she could not work a bit. After much chaffering, Mrs. —— agreed to remit a month's wages, which would leave Mrs —— some weeks of lost time. Theh, if the old sinner did not go to work in two weeks, she was to be sent for her whipping. She came to reason and went to work inside of that time, and so missed the allotted cure.

The Southern Press, North.

UNION.

One of our contemporaries remarks that it is quite "amusing" to hear politicians in both extremes of the country talk about the dissolution of the Union; and he sneers at the very idea, as if it not only was not probable, but not even possible. We commend him for his attachment to a Constitution that has placed us on such a distinguished eminence, but we cannot, nevertheless, be blind to all those causes that are at operation to undermine our greatness, and cover the ground with the ruins of our powor.—The ship of state is beset with dangers; the roar of the breakers is sounding around her, and nothing, but the skill of her pilot, and the *united* action of her crew, can under Heaven, save her.

And yet, there need not be such danger. If Southern Slavery would not make itself such a votary of Propagandism; and if Northern fanaticism would respect the compromise of the Constitution, the nation would be safe; and nothing would be left to agitate it, but the healthful disputes of the two great parties on National politics; healthful we say, because agitation on all such topics elicits facts, spreads information, begets investigation, exhibits the true merits of the country, and finally terminates in a settled policy, that meets with the approbation of a majority of the nation. No government is in danger, when *principles* are contended for, through the whole extent of the country; and, where, every distinct section, is divided, even to all its smallest villages, into two distinct parties, contending not so much for men as measures. We are not one of those who deprecate the existence of party feeling, but only its excess. The stagnation of quietness in a Republican government would indicate, either that men were advancing to a state of perfectibility, which, as the world is now constituted, is not to be hoped for; or it would show that a tame submission to some arbitrary power had commenced, and that the desires for liberty had been crushed, the thoughts that wished for a good government had been smothered, the watchfulness against usurpations had died away into quietude, and that every effort for the better had expired in utter hopelessness.

Party spirit, carried to a certain extent, is necessary to the healthful circulation of the nourishing blood of the body politic, and ought not to be sighed over by the patriot. Were there but one party, in this great nation, we should have no guarantee for the faithfulness of our public servants, no security against the mismanagement of the finances, no guard against the still slow progress of despotism under the name and form of Republicanism.

But *Sectional* parties are always to be deprecated in a free country; there is such a tendency in them, if they cannot obtain their ends, to threaten secession, to prepare for a dissolution of the confederacy that binds them, that they are always dangerous to a Federal Republic, and to be avoided, as much as possible, by mutual concessions and mutual forbearance. It was, on this principle, that the great compromise of the Constitution was originally framed, by those wise, just and faithful patriots that formed our present Government.

An adherence to that compromise is the great duty of every true lover of his county; and on that compromise should every true patriot take his stand; and he cannot be either a lover of his country or a true patriot, who would, at the North, undermine or destroy that compromise; or, at the South, who would attempt to stretch it beyond what it was originally intended to cover.

There are faults at both extremes of the Union, on this all important subject; and that party, only, can be taking the true and proper ground, which entrenches itself behind the compromises of the Constitution, and, fortified in that strong hold, determines to do battle to the uttermost in defence of our Republic, as it now exists, with its present forms, and under its present boundaries; in defence of a Constitution and a Union that ought to be valuable as life and lasting as time.

Where have the Whigs as a party been always found? We hesitate not in saying, on the true constitutional ground, ready to preserve untouched to the South what the Constitution has guaranteed them, ready to preserve the safeguards of the Union: but not ready to allow the existence of an acknowledged evil, one step farther than that Constitution warrants. They never, either at the North or the South, "calculate the value of the Union," or advocate such measures as will, unavoidably, lead to its dissolution. It is on this vantage ground that they intend to stand, a strictly national party; if victorious, they will carry out the designs of the Constitution, and its compromises among the rest; and, if defeated, it will not be their fault, that the citadel of public liberty has been levelled to the ground, the Constitution itself torn into shreds, and the country divided into several petty and insignificant States, with no security at home, or respectability abroad. It shall never be the fault of the Whig party, if, on the tombstone of our National greatness, there be engraved this inscription, Destroyed by Fanaticism. —*Hartford Daily Courant.*

Dissolution of the Union.—At intervals, for the last twenty years, the cry of dissolution has come up to us from certain discontented spirits of the South. It is contended that the rights of the South are in danger—that the people of the North, in allowing themselves to discuss certain topics, overstep their appropriate limits and trespass upon the peculiar institutions of the Southern States. Every year the pro-slavery leaders become more exacting in their views, and what they admitted a few years since to be debatable ground, is held to be otherwise now.

An effort seems recently to have been made to form a southern party—and it is declared that "reliance upon the judgment or patriotism of the North is rapidly disappearing." We cannot believe, however, that the large body of intelligent citizens in the Southern States, really entertain that hostility to the North, manifested by a few notorious advocates of Slavery-extension, and exhibited in the annual messages of the Governors of several of the States. There is a fanatical spirit apparent in their sayings and doings, which the authors themselves, it would seem, must condemn, if they would take the "sober second thought."

The scheme of disunion cannot really be intended to be carried out, even by those who talk the loudest about it, unless they are the most short-sighted of mortals. Some individuals who have stood high in the nation, men of distinguished ability, have dwelt so long upon the one idea of Slavery, and the means to be used to perpetuate it, that they think it the only question of the times. The Union—American liberty—is nothing in comparison. A well known Senator from South Carolina pursues a course, as though he thought his lease of life was continued expressly that he might take the lead in lengthening the cords and strengthening the stakes of American Slavery.

Suppose for a moment, the effort to dissolve the Union should prove successful. Where would be the territory for the extension of the institution? The territories now free would join the Northern division, and several States, now slaveholding, would speedily become free, thus the institution would be compelled gradually to retire into more narrow limits.

It is said by slaveholders, that slaves escaping into the free States are not readily given up. Now let the South be entirely separated from the North and West, and how would it be then? Many of the slaveholding States would border on the free Republic, and the moment a slave should cross the line, he would be free, and without any compact to give him up. The temptation for slaves to leave their masters would be ten fold what it is now. The distance would be much shorter to go than at present, before they would be sure of entire freedom. The North and South would both suffer by a separation, but there would be ten disadvantages to the South to one resulting to the North.

Notwithstanding all the bluster and often repeated threatenings, we can apprehend little if any danger of a dissolution of the Union. Not one in ten thousand expect such an event. Were there one chance in a hundred such would be the case in the next ten years. Wall street would give the premonitory symptoms of distrust. United States Stocks would have an awful squinting downwards. The Governors and lesser lights have issued their bulls, but it has not the least effect on 'change, or among sensible men any where, except as a continual source of wrangling. All, save a moiety of Southern fanatics, adopt the language and sentiment of Daniel Webster, in reply to the late Governor Hayne, when this doctrine was first broached—'Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseperable.'—*Rochester (N. Y.) Daily American.*

Slavery.—We have occasionally heretofore given extracts from the *Quaker City*, a paper published in Philadelphia by George Lippard. The editor is strongly *Anti-Slavery*, and has been accused of leaning towards Abolitionism by a person of the Southern press, nevertheless, he occasionally hits off "Northern Institutions" about the right way. In the following strike at the lovers and admirers of Great Britain, he deals not in fancy or fiction, but in the plain truth.—*Frankfort (Ky.) Yeoman.*

"We are opposed to Slavery of all kinds, shapes and colors, but for the life of us, we cannot understand the course of those persons who make war upon Negro Slavery, and at the same time profess the most boundless admiration for the very name of Great Britain. Multiply the evils of Black Slavery by ten thousand, and they will not parallel the wrongs and atrocities committed by England upon her White Slaves. These White Slaves are not found in cotton plantations, but they are found in the cotton Mills, in the Manufactories of England. Go to England if you would survey human nature in the lowest depth of degradation. There,—in the caverns of London, in the factories of Manchester, in the depths of the coal mine—you will find thousands of white men and women who have never heard of the existence of a God. You will find childhood blasted into precious crime. You will find womanhood degraded below the brute creation. You will find manhood so trodden down, overworked and enslaved from the very infancy, that it no longer reminds you of God or of his creation, but of Satan and a satanic creation. Go to Ireland and survey the bones of a million skeletons, which three years ago were living men and women and children, but which now are the trophies of the great battle fought by England against Humanity—the Battle of the Plague and Famine. Talk of England as the friend of mankind, or as the enemy of Slavery! As well might you speak of Satan as benevolent or of Tartarus as a place renowned for its salubrious climate. England is the enemy of Mankind. Her power is fed upon human flesh. Her thousand Lords live upon the death of ten thousand of the poor—the poor, without bread or hope. Her Bishops offer prayers to God, and at the same time proclaim their Atheism to the world, by their riotous living, and by their consistent oppression of the masses. True there are two Englands—the England of the Government backed by the monied and landed aristocracy, and the England of the People, who are only born to toil and to die. The English government we hate, as the Juggernaut of modern civilization, which never moves but to crush the innocent and the weak. The English people; the men, the women and children whose prostrate necks, make the pathway of this great Juggernaut—we love as the great family of humanity, whose Father is God.

But the English of the Bankers, Lords, and Bishops, is the foe of mankind. The sooner it is blotted out from the list of nations, the better for the world. Every day that it continues to exist, is only another day of starvation, suffering and blood. The hour which witnesses the downfall of England, will be called by mankind as the Fourth of July of a freed World.

Let any man read the Reports presented to the English Parliament, in relation to the degradation of the Factory population of England, let him peruse the British papers, and see how day after day Murder, Famine and Robbery go hand in hand over the British Dominions—let him accept the testimony of British authors, in regard to the utter misery of the masses of the British people—and then if he has the heart to do it, let him deny that England is the common Executioner of the Human Family.

——That Americans opposed to Slavery should admire this England may well excite our wonder.—But that in their haste to get rid of Black Slavery they should eulogize the White Slavery which prevails in England, may well excite not only the wonder, but the horror and contempt of all honest men. Away with the hypocrite, whose bowels yearn with compassion for the Negro while his heart has not one throb, nor his eye one tear for the English Slave.—

Dissolution of the Union.—The action of the late Mississippi Convention, the correspondence relative to the Slavery question between Senator Foote and others, and the fiery tone of the more furious of the Southern press, have thrown some Northern nervous gentlemen into paroxysms of alarm.—Through the telescope of their imaginations they see this splendid confederaay—the structure of years and wisdom—scattered to fragments. We confess that the effect upon us has been the very reverse of alarm. These threats are but the reëchoes of language used before we were born; and the country has reverberated with them ever since. To the constitutionally timid and the young, they carry terror; but they may be assured there is no danger. It is only an agreeable mode of carrying their points, which has ever been quite fashionable with our chivalric allies. We have for many years prepared ourselves to expect this annual outcry just before Congress. It is the Southern style of trumpeting their hosts to the battle of—words.

They threaten to dissolve the Union "if and if" Well, the North has but one answer—*try it, and see which can get along the best without the other.* We think that with our industry, our wealth, our enterprise we should be able to survive the severance. We also think the South, standing, as it would, isolated from all the rest of the world—the republican defender of Slavery in the nineteenth century—would find itself in a position both uncomfortable and unprofitable. *Re-annexation* would be the cry again. But, we apprehend, they would find it easier to go out than to come back.

Nevertheless, dissolution would be a calamity to both sections of the republic, and the North are bound to guard against any cause of just complaint. No such cause has yet been given. We have not only sustained Slavery intact in the several States where it exists lending to its preservation the whole military force of the nation, but we have gone beyond this. We have permitted Slavery to grow, *pari passu*, with freedom. Instead of confining Slavery within its original limits, as we had the power and right to do, we have allowed it equal growth with the free States, until now there are fifteen of each class of confederations. For the purpose of harmony, we have rocked the infant in the cradle of "compromise," until it has sprung up to the size and capacities of a giant. We have given to Slavery nearly all the executive power since the adoption of the Constitution, a majority of the several cabinets, a majority of the supreme bench, and a majority of the subordinate offices. We complain not of all this. It was done partly for the honorable purpose of conciliation, and partly under the influence of such threats as are now ringing, like the startling notes of an alarm bell, in the ears of the Northern people.

The South, it is said, will oppose the admission of California into the Union, with the clause in its constitution prohibiting Slavery. They look, we presume, to the drawing of another compromise line by Congress, whereby that body shall expressly *make over* to, and authorize the existence of Slavery in territory now free. Congress, we trust, will exercise no such authority.

The session of Congress, now commenced, it is apprehended, will be a turbulent one. But there are many cool heads from the South, as well as the North, to regulate the controversies that may arise, and pour oil upon the swelling waves. It is possible there may be some demonstration in the shape of Conventions, or temporary withdrawals of members of Congress. But these will terminate very much as did the great Southern Address at the last session. It is not a few hotspurs in Congress that can dissolve the Union. Neither can the resolutions of political Conventions. When such a question is seriously presented, if ever, it must be acted on by the *people* of the South, deliberately at the ballot box. And it will then be found, that the masses value the confederacy as above price. They will never consent to sever the golden cord for the sake of an abstraction—and that abstraction based on Slavery. It should be remembered that the actual number of slaveholders are but a small minority of the Southern population, and the majority will be far from willing to lose all the advantages of the Union for their accommodation. Let the North be true to the compromises of the Constitution, true to the real right of the South, true to itself, and true to freedom—and all will be well.—*Portland Eastern Argus.*

Kentucky Convention.—We shall see what it brings forth, and then, if as we very much fear, it fails to make a constitution better adapted to all the purposes of good government, and to the security and preservation of all our rights of person and property, than the good old constitution under which we have so long lived and prospered, we shall certainly not hesitate to say so, and give to the country our reasons for that opinion. In the meantime, we cannot but repeat that the action of the Convention thus far has made but little impression upon the people, either in the way of commanding their respect or approbation. Such at least is our observation.—*Lexington Observer.*

The course which the Kentucky Convention has thus far pursued on many subjects is not the most wise, but on the question of Slavery it should be the source of unfeigned regret to every lover of his country or his race. The arguments advanced in favor of many projects are silly enough and would be more in place in the upper house of Parliament than in a Convention of Americans; but all other absurdities perpetrated in word or deed by the Convention, are as nothing to the grand crowning absurdity out of which the others legitimately spring; the design to perpetuate Slavery as far as constitutional enactments can go. To strengthen that curse and prolong its existence as far as in their action lies, is evidently the aim of the majority of the Convention.

Such a policy would surprise us less, if proceeding from almost any other State South of Mason & Dixon's line. We had always supposed Kentucky to be among her slaveholding sisters eminent for practical characteristics, little likely to be led astray by abstractions, no matter how beautifully and ingeniously woven. A life in the forest the fierce contests with wild beasts, Indians and yet more savage white men, had necessarily made common sense men of the first settlers, and their example as well as the highly practical notions of their early leading politicians, has so moulded the character and shaped the ends of Kentuckians, that Kentucky has been but little plagued with the nonsense that belittles her Virginia mother, and has been noted for her plain, sensible and enlarged views upon all matters of policy.

On the subject of Slavery she has been in the advance of her sisters. When her country was new and its rich soil could bear the heavy burden and the white race were drawn off to the war and the chase, she refused to abolish Slavery. But she was among the first to be taught by experience. She noted the evil effects of the system, deprecated the apparent necessity under which she labored to preserve it even for a brief period, and began to cast about her for feasible modes of emancipation. She was manly in her talk and action. She did not fly to theories to preserve her from inexorable facts. She did not call on gossamer abstractions to veil from her the severe truths that the system she had established was blasting every interest in her bounds, and dwarfing the commonwealth that otherwise would have been a giant. She knew and declared it a curse. So did she feel and act 15 years ago.

But now a singular change has evidently come over her spirit. All prospects of emancipation were heavily voted down at the late election. Not an emancipationist, though many of them had no superiors in the state for birth, intellect and piety was chosen to the Convention. And upon its floor are urged doctrines which a few years ago would have startled Kentucky as they startle us. Men now advocate perpetual Slavery, not as a necessity unfortunately incurred, but as a positive blessing. They claim God as its author and endow it with nearly all the Creator's life-giving attributes. Fifteen years since and they denounced it as an incubus upon the morals, the intellect and the physical growth of the State. Now they worship it as the divinest of gifts. *Then*, had they been told of the change time would bring, and of the position they now assume, the astonishment of Hazael would have been theirs. 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?

What has effected this singular and disastrous change? What has caused this retrograde march of Kentucky in the cause of freedom? Why is the plain practical character of Kentucky lost in this maze of abstractions and absurdities? Why does she, once occupying the front rank of her slaveholding sisters in the generosity and soundness of her views on the subject of Slavery, now stand on the same platform with South Carolina? These would be questions of great moment at any time and are particularly worthy of attention at a juncture like the present, when the northern mind is alive with agitation upon subjects connected with or growing out of Slavery. Every man who pretends to be a statesman should find out some satisfactory answers. They may determine his own action for wisdom.

For our part we are free to say that to our minds there is clearly but one answer to all these questions: *Northern interference.*—(*Utica N. Y.*) *Morning Herald.*

A Stormy Session.—The letter writers predict a stormy session. It is a general impression or at least a general declaration, that the South will oppose the admission of California on various pretexts. The prohibition of Slavery is undoubtedly the cause of the opposition, but as it would not answer to base it upon that alone, attacks are to be made upon the boundaries of California, and efforts put forth to divide her. The fact of her coming full grown into the confederacy without first passing through a territorial childhood is, we understand, to be made also a ground of opposition.

If calmness and forbearance, if a just appreciation of each others position and motives would govern the conduct of members, we believe that these questions and others of even greater difficulty might be settled in quietness without exciting passion; but under existing circumstances we are fearful that the predictions of the Washington croakers will be fulfilled.

The subject of Slavery is invariably attended with difficulties requiring wisdom and coolness to surmount, but they have been enhanced by the spirit with which men have entered upon its discussion. The South, within whose bounds it exists and around whose interests it has locked its long arms, who is bound to it by ties, the force of which Northerners find it difficult to understand, can rarely touch upon it or upon subjects in the least degree connected with it, without exhibiting an excitement that to the looker on is at once absurd and painful. But the skirts of the north are by no means clear of blame. Our people do not sufficiently appreciate the feelings of southerners, and without taking up a residence among them and meeting them in daily intercourse for a considerable space of time, such appreciation can only be obtained by a study and reflection, to which, alas, very few members of Congress find it worth while to turn their attention.

Southerners do not look upon Slavery with our eyes. They were born under it, have grown up surrounded by it, and their prejudices have been moulded by its influences. It was introduced many generations before their existence, it was the work of their fathers who transmitted it to them. It is the interest which is most prominent among them, which has been most cared for by the legislation of two centuries, which has closely wound itself around their heart. It has influenced to an incredible extent their character and is intimately associated with all their relations. And hence it is that while willing to acknowledge its injurious tendencies in moments of calmness, when their vision is clear and their hearts free from prejudice, they defend themselves with passion when attakced with asperity and by a natural transition, pass from a defence of the masters to a defence of the system. Their arguments for its divinity, for its social and political beneficence have in our judgment no other origin than the outside war that has been waged upon it. The North, while determining as is just that Slavery shall not be extended over free territory to weaken its energies, should remember these facts; treat the southerners as brethren and use the language of kindness and consideration.

Nothing is more natural than that the South should regret the prohibition of Slavery in California. They argue that the territory was won by them as well as us, that they furnished their proportion of blood which moistened and the money which purchased the soil of Mexico. They dislike of course to have shut out from the new possessions that property which is their chief reliance, and which a series of ingenious sophistries, aided by predjudice, has led them to regard in many respects beneficent. Their love of political power is as strong and natural as ours.

No man in the South has more desired the freedom of the new territories than we, but we have always contended that it should be accomplished by means least calculated to excite bad feeling, and with perfect friendliness of temper. No better mode could be devised than that which is presented in the action of the people of California. In like manner New Mexico will knock at the door of the confederacy. And they must and will be admitted. The North will never consent to plant Slavery anywhere, much less where the people repudiate it, and for a multitude of reasons it should not consent. But we hope that in the discussions, arguments will be used, not invectives, and that kindness, not anger, will rule the house. We are not situated as is the South, and passion on our part is needless and absurd. Let us get through this matter of the territories before we enter upon other subjects connected with Slavery. A contrary course will only complicate the question of free soil and give rise to additional bitterness. And while we remain firm in our position let us be moderate, for moderation and firmness are generally coincident.

If we act thus we shall in all probability carry our ends without much violent agitation. Unless the fanaticism of former years has created a storm no calmness of ours can quell. And it trouble comes in spite of us, upon others will rest the guilt. Let us ever bear in mind that the rant of a Giddings is as dangerous as the sophistries of Calhoun.—*Morning (Attica, N. Y.) Herald.*

Modern Fanaticism.—The present may well be called an era of fanaticism. The Christian churches, which have long been troubled with it, under various guises, have become measurably free from its injurious effects; and it has arrayed itself under new aspects, such as Mormonism, Communism, Socialism, Non-resistanceism, Anti-Church and Anti-Stateism, Abolitionism, etc. Its operations used to be carried on mainly within the churches, now it wars against them, and against nearly every thing old, and venerable, and lovely, and of good report. It levels its artillery against every institution of man which has received the sanction of time, experience and of intellectual and moral worth. It spares neither church nor State morals nor religion, law nor Gospel. It seizes hold of some really great, or probably only some fancied evil, and, for its cure, it would inflict ten thousand times greater evils upon the community. It only sees one thing at a time, and in the pursuit of that, it is wholly blind to all ulterior consequences. It stops its ears to all argument, remonstrance, or expostulation, and goes headlong to its object, though it may scramble over the ruins of every thing valuable and dear to man in its insane progress.

A sample of the spirit of this fanaticism—which probably has its uses, as well as its evil effects—can be seen in the following resolution, which passed among others, at a recent Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Oberlin, Ohio:

Resolved, That this Convention *is full of joy at the declining state of American religion*, as seen in the absence of revivals, the drooping condition of all the popular churches, and the utter extinction of many of them; the small number of candidates for the ministry at the theological seminaries, and the frequency with which the ministers escape from the sectarian pulpit into less mischievous and far more honest and laudable occupations.—And we cannot but hope and pray that, as its terrible sacraments on the hearts, the hopes and happiness of millions of slaves, whose enslavement it has so long sanctified by its fellowship, its sermons, and prayers, *shall end, and it shall sink into a speedy and ignominious grave*, and then it shall be followed by the coming of the kingdom of righteousness and peace, when man shall no more lift up the sword or the shackle against his fellow man; when a slave or a slaveholder shall no more be known; but when, emphatically, every man, in every face, shall meet abrother and a friend."

The cold-blooded character of this resolution is almost too shocking for comment. A demonical joy animates it at a prospect which ought and would fill the breast of every truly good man with unutterable horror. Its ultimate object is the extinction of Slavery—an object worthy in itself, and for which all good men should ardently pray—but its means to its end is the destruction of the visible church of Christ in America. It would raze our temples to the ground; it would scatter the Ministers who officiate at their altars, to the pursuit of secular callings; it would shut up our Sabbath Schools, discouraging all our benevolent institutions for the dissemination of Christianity, and bring about a perfect moral desolation. And, then, it wisely supposes that Slavery will be abolished! Having destroyed the only means ordained by God for the amelioration of our race, and the mitigation and cure of moral evils, it eagerly supposes the evil will vanish of itself!

Without contending for the entire purity of the American Protestant Churches, yet we fearlessly assert they are the glory and bulwark of our land. They cause our country to stand out in bold relief, when compared to all other lands, and to force the exclamation—"here Christianity has achieved her greatest triumph." When we see what has been done in the last half century, and witness the rapid progress, and the frequent triumph of the cross as borne aloft by the American churches, we may safely venture the prediction that even Slavery, that master evil of our land, shall, ere many decades are past, quietly yield to its peaceful and sublime control, and liberty shall be written upon the door posts of every dwelling—*Pittsburgh (Pa.) Gazette.*

Manufacturing in the South.—What we predicted some years ago would be the effect of the course pursued by the north towards the South, is being rapidly realized. We said that if the proscriptive policy of the north was not changed the surplus laborers of that section would be put to work as operatives in factories. The progress made in building up factories in the south within the past two years is truly astonishing to those that could not calculate effect from cause. Georgia has seventy-two cotton factories in operation, and in course of construction. South Carolina some thirty-six or forty. North Carolina and Virginia about the same number each, and Alabama nearly as many, making all together some two hundred cotton factories in the South. That there are not so large as the Lowell mills is true; but some of them are extensive, and turn out vast quantities of cloth and and yarn. As we have heretofore stated, cotton yarns are taken from Savanna and Charleston to Philadelphia, and there sold at the very doors of the spinners of that city, and we would not be astonished if domestics from the same points were sold in the northern cities in a very few years. While the northern manufacturers are clamoring about losses, and for additional protection, the southern manufacturers have been dividing heavy dividends, and setting aside large surpluses. We have not heard of a failure or stoppage of a single cotton factory in the south. We observed some time since much gratulation in many of the northern papers because the operatives in a factory in Georgia were, or were to be, white persons; but we would ask what are the operatives in the other one hundred and ninety-nine? The inference is black. Indeed it is known that in those mills that have declared 15 to 18 per cent. profit, that they are.

Every intelligent man knows that by limiting the Slave territory, the slave population is not lessened. The only effect is to overstock the labor market. This being now done for planting purposes, in some of our Southern States the hands in a certain district not required to cultivate it, is put to manufacturing what the others produce, and each coming year from the increase of population, additional hands will be sent from the plantations to the mills. We do not pretend to say that the entire increase of our slave population hereafter will be put to manufacturing, because there are large and fertile plains of the South, still in a state of nature, which will be reclaimed; but we do say that through the action of the North, the South has engaged in manufacturing, and the interest has struck its root deeply, has flourished and must while the laws of nature and trade remain, unless thwarted by the sword. The Northern States had long enjoyed a monopoly of the manufacturing of the Union, by which, and high tariffs, they have become rich. In their fancied security they broached, then urged the doctrine now likely to overwhelm and impoverish them.

But it is not the lords of the spindle that we pity, it is the operatives. As the Northern manufacturers are pushed from the Southern markets by Southern fabrics, and pressed north by the same, to their own doors, they will not raise as heretofore the cry of increase of tariff, that the success of Southern manufacturers has silenced, but they will reduce the wages of the operatives to a point of means of almost beggardly existence.

But what do these men hope to gain by their course? The adage used to be, "divide and conquer," but they must have discovered some new light. Surely it cannot be hoped that by concentrating slaves in a State until the market for labor is so overstocked that every man not owning slaves is driven out, that then, when a portion of every family's wealth is in this kind of property, and all the labor done by the slaves, that an emancipation law will then be passed. That would be folly.

We have made some of these illustrations more for the purpose of showing the folly of the cry about the danger to the North, of slave territory being extended, than from any actual influence opening the whole territory acquired from Mexico would have, for of it all there is only a small strip along the east bank of the Rio Grande and the large tributaries entering it to which any sane man would think of taking slaves. But the duty of the North is to take care of itself, and, take from us a Southern market, and let us rely altogether on our exports in Europe, we would be poor indeed. And what else is it but taking from us the Southern market—forcing the Southerners to do their own manufacturing. Tennessee is now, we believe, the second, certainly the third, iron-producing State in the Union. Kentucky produces large quantities, which can be increased indefinitely; so of Missouri and Alabama. Virginia produces iron in large quantities, and when she gets outlets by railroads to convey it to market from the furnaces, may yet rival Pennsylvania. In provisions and grains the South is prolific, and nature has placed at her disposal every element of national wealth and independence. She produces the iron to make her machinery, the timber to build her mills, the cotton to supply them, and can produce grain and provisions to feed a vast addition to her present population—to some branches of mechanism negroes will not answer, but in those wages are always high, and whites will learn those trades. In short, the North has more to fear from competition with Southern slave labor, backed by all the advantages of the South, than from European pauper labor. The blacks of the South are better fed than the white operatives of Manchester, and can look forward with more hope to old age than they, because no poor house awaits them when no longer able to toil.—They who say the slave has no incentive to work, and will not work, should give some reason why they so much dread the pauper labor of Manchester.—*Daily (Cincsnnati) Commercial,*.

The Union.—Never was a sentiment expressed to which the people of these United States more sincerely responded than that of the immortal Jackson, when he declared that "the Union must and shall be preserved." Yet we find that from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the present period, factions have existed who coldly calculated the "value of the Union," and speak of its dissolution with as much indifference as though the bond which united our glorious confederacy was but a silken cord, the severance of which could produce no evil.

When the purchase of Louisiana was consummated, notwithstanding the unscrupulous and unprincipled opposition which that enlightened and wise measure encountered, the Northern Federalists predicted the dissolution of the confederacy, they foretold the ultra ruin of the country, and counselled the dismemberment of the Union. The devotion of the masses to the Union prevented the consummation of the treason which they contemplated. From that period until the great Missouri question arose, it was from the North that the opposition of these calculators of "the value of the Union" emanated, while its maintenance was warmly advocated by the South, and those who talked of disunion were branded as traitors and enemies to the institutions of their country. The Missouri question, however, changed the aspect of affairs, and the South jealous of their rights and determined to resist any invasion of their sovereignty, in turn threatened disunion; but an honorable compromise allayed the threatening storm, and every "star" in the confederacy remained unobscured and brilliant, until fresh aggressions were inflicted upon Southern interests, under the so-called protective system of the Whigs were introduced, and nullification was threatened, and once more the cry of disunion was raised. Still patriorism prevailed, and the danger was averted. But what is the present aspect? While we entertain no fear of the result—while we believe that notwithstanding the naturally excited state of feeling existing in the Southern States in reference to the question arising out of our vast acquisitions in Mexico, there is no danger of "dissolution," still we must admit that the crisis to which we have arrived is a fearful one, demanding the firm, calm, and patriotic action of those to whose care the destinies of the Republic have been entrusted; and the entire country will await with intense anxiety the action of Congress upon the delicate and important questions seriously affecting the rights of the South, which must necessarily occupy its attention and demand its action during the present session. We are not among those who regard the stand taken by Southern executives and legislatures as mere *bravado*; that they should be jealous of any interference with their sovereignty is natural—that they should be opposed to any legislation by Congress upon matters beyond the limits of their Constitutional authority, is just and proper. All legislation is mischievous and hostile to the general peace and welfare of the nation which has a tendency to create sectional jealousies and dissensions. We do not admit that our representatives in Congress are the mere servants of particular localities, but hold that they are the representatives of the Nation, whose duty is while they faithfully protect the interests and rights

of their especial constituences, to take care that the rights of others are not encroached upon.

The question of the maintenance and perpetuity of the Union, rises in importance above and beyond all others. The unexampled prosperity and glory of our Republic have excited the admiration and wonder of all nations, and have produced the revolutions in the Old World, which have caused the despots of Europe to tremble upon their thrones, and marked the progress of Democratic principles. We have abiding confidence in the moderation and patriotism of those who are to declare the important question which now agitates our country: to them we look for its peaceful and final settlement; the union of the States can only be maintained by a just regard to the rights and sovereignty of all; by invading those of a single member of the confederacy we can have no guarantee that the rights of others will be respected. Keeping in view the rights of *all*, and the compromises upon which the glorious constitution of the States was framed and adopted, we believe that patriotism will prevail over fanaticism, and that the "Union *must* and *will* be preserved."—*N. Y. Times and Republic.*

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1849.

Mass Convention at Syracuse.

It has been determined that a CONVENTION *of the* ABOLITIONISTS *of the* STATE *of* NEW YORK *shall be held at*

Syracuse,

on TUESDAY the 15th of JANUARY, 1850.

The present aspect of National affairs in regard to the question of Slavery; the present position of political parties in relation to those affairs; the present relation which Abolitionists, who have preserved their faith inviolate, hold to those parties; and the relation which Abolitionists now sustain to each other and the cause, demand that such a Convention be held in this State; that it be held during the ensuing session of Congress; and that it shall represent the entire strength of that portion of our people who are hostile, not only to the extension of Slavery into new Territories, but to its existence anywhere: who are determined not only to resist its establishment on the Coast of the Pacific, or in the valleys of New Mexico, but are equally determined on its extirmination on the Atlantic Coast and in the valley of the Mississippi.

The events of the past year; the events of the passing week; the events, probably, which will signalize the present winter, appeal to all who assume to themselves the name of Abolitionist to arouse themselves, at once, to the work of making this the largest and most influential ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION that has ever been held in this State. The warning cry of

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

and their abettors was never more needed than at this moment, and has never been so heeded as it will be in the present crisis.

Particulars of time, place, and probable continuance of the Convention, and names of the distinguished friends of the cause who will be present, will be given in future notices.

THE SIXTEENTH

NATIONAL A. S. BAZAAR,

FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON,

Will open on MONDAY, the 24th of DECEMBER, at ten o'clock, A. M.

It has never before been in the power of the Managers to present so large and beautiful a collection of articles. So many of our friends have visited Europe during the past year that we have enjoyed unusual facilities for procuring articles alike rare, elegant and useful. Our Transatlantic friends also have never been more generous in their donations, and it is with the utmost confidence that we ask our usual visitants to defer the purchase of their Holiday gifts till the Bazaar opens, believing that it will be impossible to find elsewhere so large and *unique* a variety.

Among the articles best worthy of attention are the following:—

Caps and *Fanchons* of the newest style from the most fashionable *Magasins* of Paris, valuable not merely in themselves, but as patterns. A small assortment of beautiful flowers an dribbons. Very splendid articles of Dresden China of the time of *Louis Quinze*, remarkable even in Paris for their beauty and unmatched in this country. Cologne bottles of old *Seorre*, very beautiful. China Ink Stands, Flower Stands, Pastille Burners, *Porte Violettes*, *Tete a Tete* service, and a variety of smaller articles. Porcelain figure of *Mlle. Rachel* in the character of *Phedre*, pronounced a most accurate resemblance. *Objets de Paris*, a name given to articles of inlaid work, comprising work, glove, jewel, and perfume boxes. Work Box with medallion of flowers, the painting by *Franco*, on alabaster, of the newest fashion and in the most exquisite taste.—*Presse Papiers* of an entirely new style. Articles carved in Cocoa Nut. Beautiful Rustic Vases, and other articles *en Gres*. *Statuettes in Biscuit.*

Scotch Shawls of unusual fineness of the Jenny Lind, Loch Laggan, Balmoral, Charlie Stewart, Tullibardine, Lorne, Princess Alice and Sutherland patterns. Highland Scarfs and Handkerchiefs, Ladies' and Children's Polkas of all colours, every variety of Mat, knitted, netted and crocheted. Ladies' and Gentlemens' wrought Slippers, made and unmade. Affghan Blankets or *Couvre Pieds* for invalids. Cabas and Travelling Bags. Beautiful Hearth Rug embroidered in Berlin Wool. Knitted Bed-quilt. Knitted Drawing Room Curtains. Honiton Lace Collars, Cuffs and Chemisetts of unusual beauty. Tidies and Chair Covers of all descriptions, some of the style so much admired last year, crocheted in colours. Aprons of black silk, satin and watered silk, plain, trimmed with lace and richly embroidered. Great variety of Scarfs, Cuffs, Pruolence Caps, and Handkerchiefs, knitted and netted in Berlin Wool of all colours. Urn Stands Fea er Screens. Screens very beautifully embroidered on white Satin. Sofa and Chair Cushions elegantly wrought. Wrought Garden Chairs. Table and Chair Covers of silk Patchwork. Great variety of Childrens Dresses, some richly embroidered. Very beautiful Cloaks for Infants. Infant's Hoods, Bonnets and Hats. Irish knitted Collars and Cuffs of great fineness. Embroidered Table Borders. Carriage Mats. Purses. Music Holders. Dolls of all kinds, Wax, Wooden, and Gutter Percha, some in the exact costumes of Wales, Normandy and Germany. Wax Doll and Ward-robe, valued at £5 by the Donor.

Beautiful Basket Work from the Bristol Blind Asylum. Lined Basket embroidered in *Chenille*. Fayal Baskets. Tunbridge Work Box.

Every variety of Toilet and Pin Cushion. Needle Cases. House-wifes. Watch Cases. Carpet Balls. Babies Shoes, Boots and Gaiters. Etchings in Permanent Ink in Linen after the Elgin Marbles and from Illustrations of Faust.

Floral perfumed, Illuminated, Rose, Cream and Damask laid, Queen's Cameo Albert, and in fine, every variety of De la Rue's Note paper with corresponding Envelopes may be found at the Book Table. Engravings of Mazzini, Wilson, and Bright.

Water Colour Drawings by Miss Carpenter, Mrs. Thomás, Mrs. Richards and others, including a series of very beautiful views on the banks of the Otter.

Superior Solid Sketch Book for Artists and Amateurs. Small Vellum Card Cases. Memorandum Books. Ladies' Morocco Housewifes. Ladies' and Tourists Morocco Travelling Cases, highly gilt. Albums. Every variety of Blotting Books, some of an entirely new style. Russian Pocket Books. "Where is it?" or Address Books. Autographs—among them those of Salisbury, Minister of James 1st., Sir Robert Walpole, William Godwin, Lord North, Mrs. Hemans, Bussot, Hannah More, and other distinguished Authors and Statesmen. English editions of the Lives of Knox, Robert Hall, Cowper, R. L. Edgeworth. Fox's Book of Martyr's, Geddes Bible, very rare.

Scented Olive Oil Soap. *Pastilles Perfumes.* Scented Paris Soaps. A White China gilt Tea service. Dried Grasses and Pressed Forest Leaves. Chinese Envelope Boxes of Laquered Ware. Epergne of Canton China.

Representation of a May Day Village Club and Fair in the West of England. This has been copied from the Life, and according to the description received from competent judges is most remarkable for truth, ingenuity and delicacy of finish.

A. W. WESTON, MARY G. CHAPMAN,
LOUISA LORING, MARY MAY,
SARAH SOUTHWICK.

The first Snow-fall.

THE snow had begun in the gloaming,
And busily all the night,
Had been heaping field and highway
With a silence deep and white.

Every pine and fir and hemlock
Wore ermine too dear for an earl,
And the poorest twig on the elmtree
Was ridged inchdeep with pearl.

From sheds, new-roofed with Carrara,
Came Chanticleer's muffled crow,
The stiff rails were softened to swan's-down,—
And still fluttered down the snow.

I stood and watched by the window
The noiseless work of the sky,
And the sudden flurries of snowbirds
Like brown leaves whirling by.

I thought of a mound in sweet Auburn
Where a little headstone stood,
How the flakes were folding it gently,
As did robins the babes in the wood.

Up spoke our own little Mabel,
Saying, "Father, who makes it snow?"
And I told of the good Allfather
Who cares for us all below.

Again I looked at the snowfall,
And thought of the leaden sky
That arched o'er our first great sorrow,
When that mound was heaped so high.

I remembered the gradual patience
That fell from that cloud like snow,
Flake by flake, healing and hiding
The scar of that deep-stabbed woe.

And again to the child I whispered,
"The snow that husheth all,
Darling, the merciful Father
Alone can make it fall!"

Then, with eyes that saw not, I kissed her,
And she, kissing back, could not know
That *my* kiss was given to her sister
Folded close under deepening snow.—J. R. L.

Syracuse Convention.

PETERBORO', Dec. 5, 1849.

SAMUEL J. MAY:—

My Dear Sir:—When I heard that your folks were to have an Anti Slavery Convention in Syracuse, I was in favor of the Liberty Party holding one at the same time and place, that so, we might see and hear each other. But, when I saw your kind invitation to us to attend your Convention, I felt, that courtesy forbid the holding of a Liberty Party Convention, at the same time and place.

I hope that Liberty Party men will attend your Convention in great numbers, both to be instructed by what they shall hear, and to manifest that respect and love for old and faithful laborers in the Anti-Slavery cause. I shall, if possible, attend the Convention.

I hope to may see Garrison, Phillips, Quincy, C. C. Burleigh, ...ader and wife, James Mott and wife, &c., &c., in the Convention.

Your friend and Bróther,
GERRIT SMITH.

We [illegible] the above letter in the *Liberty Party Paper*, publ[illegible]ed, and cordially, for our part, respond to the wish of the writer that Liberty Party men will attend the Convention of the 16th January, 'in great numbers.' Those who belong to the small number of respectable gentlemen—Mr. Gerrit Smith and a few personal friends—composing the Liberty Party, certainly need, supposing them to be open to conviction, to attend an old organized Anti-Slavery meeting, that their brains may be cleared of the cobwebs which such industrious spiders as Spooner and others have been weaving in them for a few years past; and the members of the old Liberty Party, who gave themselves away at Buffalo, and have been so essentially 'sold' since, as truly need, if there is grace enough left in them to know where they are, to attend any sort of an Anti-Slavery meeting to learn over again their first lessons in Anti-Slavery. We also hope that we may rightfully interpret Mr. Smith's ready respone to the invitation of his friend Mr. May, as an indication that he is about reaping the fruits of his past experience, and is ready, with his friends, to renew his allegiance to the old organized American Anti-Slavery Society. He is, at any rate, welcome, at all times, as well as everybody else to her platform—welcome in the name of Free speech; but we wish that heartier and kindlier welcome with which the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and *thus* the enemies of Slavery, ever greet each other might also be his. But whether he comes with a flail to help us thrash out our grain, or with a flail to thrash us, he shall find room to do either on our floor.

To the Anti-Slavery Friends of Western New York and Elsewhere.

We see, with regret, in the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, of the 6th inst., that the 15th of January is fixed upon for holding the Syracuse Convention, only one day previous to the time we had published our intention to hold the Rochester Fair. In order to allow an opportunity for the friends of the cause to attend both it will be necessary to again change the time for holding the Fair. We, therefore, postpone it another week—Wednesday, Jan. 23d, 1850.

AMY POST.
On behalf of the Fair Committee.

There seems here, whether meant so or not, a disposition to impute intended interference on the part of the Syracuse Convention with the Rochester Fair. Let us explain:

When the proposition was first made for the Syracuse Convention, early in January was designated as a proper time for holding it; nor did it then occur to any one that there could be any interference with the Annual Meeting of the Western New York Society, or the Rochester Fair, both because they had uniformly in past years been held in Dec. and because there was a standing notice at that time in the *North Star*, that the Fair this year also would be held in that month. This designated time for the Fair was afterward changed to January 16th, and the heretofore uniform time for the Annual Meeting changed from December to January 8th. The reasons, however, which first decided those having the management of the Syracuse Convention to hold it early in January still remained good, and were even strengthened by the fact that a change to December, after the announcement of the annual meeting of the Western Society, for the 8th, and of the Fair for the 16th of January, would have left altogether too little time to make the necessary arrangements. We must therefore give up the Convention or keep to our purpose of holding it in January. We chose the latter; and it was announced that the 8th of January was fixed upon, in the *Standard* of the the same week in which the *North Star* contained the official notice of the meeting of the Western Society on the same day. Rather than interfere with this Annual Meeting, we changed the time of the Convention to the 16th of January, and here again we had only the alternative of taking this day or giving up the Convention entiaely. For, for the first week in January—as we once before explained,—we could not calculate with certainty upon the presence of a single speaker of note, except Mr. S. J. May,—against the fourth week precisely the same objection would hold, because of the Annual Meeting of the Mass. Society; we had yielded the second week already; to postpone till February would be a very doubtful expedient, or rather it would be an everlasting postponement of a good Convention, to think of so long a delay; and we had therefore nothing to do but give up the Convention or take the third week in January. We also certainly 'regret' that our decision should have interfered with the arrangements of the Rochester friends, but as they had changed the time of their meetings from December to January after it was announced that the Syracuse Convention was to be held in that month, and occupied the only two weeks in it in which manifestly that Convention could be held, we were obliged to take that week which we thought would interfere least with them. We think they can hardly fail to see the reasonableness of this statement which, by the bye, they might have had before for the asking, and have saved us the trouble of making it in public. This we now do because the notice which we copy may perhaps mislead some minds as to our motives.

CONGRESS.—We occupy a large portion of this week's paper with the President's Message, and the most important and interesting debates in Congress during the past week. The result in the choice of Speaker is as everybody predicted who has ever watched the slave power and its servants in a struggle for the mastery: the slaveholders have their own way. Such a fight is always at great odds. As in this case, the south only needs half a dozen representatives, which she found in Toombs and his friend, and which she would have found elsewhere had not these been detailed for this special service. But the North is never represented; or more properly speaking, the true interests of the North and of freedom are never represented. She is always in a hopeless minority. Those eight Free-Soilers who have so nobly maintained their integrity in this case are, after all, the representatives only of a small faction and their own principles.

We have no room for any comment upon the President's Message.

Domestic Correspondence.

From Our Boston Correspondent.

NO. LIII.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Correspondent deprecateth objurgation.—He sympathizeth with his readers under a possible calamity.—The Philosophy of Fat.—The Improvement.—Decoration of Faneuil Hall.—Amory Hall.—Charity employed for a ragged Word.—Peter Simple and the elephant and Castle.—The Evergreens and the tales they tell.—The Massachusetts Volunteers, Governor Briggs and the Ducal House.—The Parkman Murder.—Weight given and due to the Inquest.—Contradictory reports.—How the case stands.—The Correspondent on his own Prophetic character.—The Prologue and the Play.—Pickwickian Pickings.—The Lie Direct made Circumstantial.—The Senate.—The White House.—Whig Grace.—Gen. Taylor's richnesses.—The Correspondent defendeth him from Democratic charges.—He narrateth a story, which, though wicked, is not bad.—Plymouth Meeting.—Anti-Slavery Audacity.—Forefather's Day picked up.—The First Day of the Bazaar.—The Correspondent exulteth in the Election of Speaker.—Rare privilege of Mr. Winthrop.—&c., &c., &c.*

BOSTON, December 24, 1849.

I AM by no means certain that this epistle will reach you in season for your next paper, and I am quite sure that you will scold at its arrival out of due course. My only, but sufficient excuse, is, that the annual demands of Faneuil Hall on the able-bodied men of the vicinage that name the name of Anti-Slavery, have interfered with your just expectations, by occupying the time which would otherwise have belonged to you. So you must put my dilatoriness down to the account of the Bazaar, and if thereby your readers are obliged to wait for the words of wisdom in which my letters habitually abound until next week, you must comfort them as best you may, and exhort them to add to their other many virtues, patience. You know it is said that the adipose substance which distinguished Falstaff among his fellows as much as his wit, is said to be the surplus revenue of the animal economy, laid up for a time of need, so that when a man has nothing to eat, or can eat nothing from illness, he does in fact *eat himself*, the superfluous nutrition of former days being then taken up and put into circulation, even as a sufficient man with a handsome balance at his banker's draws it out when his other funds run low. So your dearly beloved readers must fall back, in this their distress, upon that moral and intellectual obesity which distinguishes them from all other men, and which they enjoy partly by reason of the feasts of fat things and pinguefying messes set before them at fortnightly intervals by your Boston Correspondent.

I believe you have never assisted at the decoration of Faneuil Hall, but your recollections of the minor glories of Amory Hall, to say nothing of the *Chrestmnitdinganbaum*,* (which word I commend to your kindly offices to be clothed in its due apparel of letters and syllables, all tattered and torn as it comes from my barbarous pen, as I take it for granted its orthography is indelibly imprinted on the tablets of your memory,) I say those recollections may enable you to enlarge your ideas sufficiently to give you some conception of what it is; as Peter Simple, on arriving at the Elephant and Castle in London, endeavoured to enlarge his imagination so as to take in "the huge earth-shaking beast" which could carry a Castle on his back, *Warwick Castle*, the only one he had ever seen, being the other element of the computation. But though reasonably hard work it is not an unedifying sight to see, nor yet an unimproving work to assist at. First, the loads of evergreen trees, of all the varieties of that beautiful family, enough to have given Macbeth "a realizing sense" that Birnam Wood might come to Dansinare, on a sufficient occasion, tell of winter days of voluntary labor in scattered forests, freely given from a feeling of duty to the American Slave. And, then, when the mimic forest lies in heaps upon the floor, to see how it rises again, obedient to the magic of taste and skill, and clothes the walls and clasps the pillars, and springs up the arches to the ceiling, and at last a new creation as it were has grown out of shapeless chaos! And all this is done without money and without price, by a small regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, of whom Governor Briggs, himself, might be proud, (though I am not clear that he *would*) under the Field-Marshalship of a family of youthful veterans whose strategic skill vindicates their claim to the ducal title of the hero of Waterloo.

The topic of the Parkman murder, which was the engrossing one when I wrote last, still occupies a large proportion of almost every conversation; though the intensity of the excitement has, of course, passed away. Opinions are still divided as to the guilt or innocence of the gentleman charged with the crime. It cannot be denied that the verdict of the Coroner's Inquest, pronouncing the body found in the Medical College to be Dr. Parkman's, and that he came to his death by the hands of Dr. Webster, turned the current of public feeling against him at the time it was rendered. But when it was remembered that the prisoner was not represented before the Coroner's Jury, and that the examination was conducted by men, however intelligent and respectable, unaccustomed to sift and weigh evidence, the result seemed, after all, to be worth no more than the opinion of an equal number of persons taken at random from counting houses and workshops, formed upon a certain presentation of testimony, which opinion was to have no legal consequences whatever, let it be what it might.—It by no means follows that the same evidence, after passing through the scrutiny of a Court of Justice and being sifted by experienced counsel, would satisfy a Jury of the guilt of Dr. Webster, when his life depended on their verdict. The evidence produced before the Coroner being kept secret, it would be as useless as it might be mischievous to repeat the gossip which is flying about the streets as to the nature of this hidden testimony. Rumours of the most contradictory descriptions deter one from believing almost any statement that is made on the subject; there not being one, however authentic it seemed admitted to be at any one time, that has not been afterwards flatly contradicted. As far as any new evidence that has become public, in any authentic shape, is concerned, the case stands substantially as it did when I wrote last. On the one side stands the difficulty of accounting for the presence of Dr. Parkman's mangled remains (if established beyond a doubt to be his) upon Dr. Webster's professional premises, without his cognizance, and, on the other, the improbability of the commission of such a crime by a man of an unblemished character of near sixty years standing, or, of his having attempted to dispose of the body, if guilty, in so bungling and unscientific a manner, when he had sufficient command of mind and muscle to preserve perfectly the air and behaviour of an innocent man, before and since his arrest. A suspense of opinion, at least, until the actual evidence in the case is disclosed, is certainly no more than reasonable to ask, however unreasonable it may be to expect.

Having twice predicted (though with the caution becoming a prudent prophet,) that the question of the Speakership would be decided before I communicated with you again, I will abstain from any further vaticination lest, peradventure, I should be found prophesying vain things; although, if the Lightning does not lie, the substitution of the plurality for the majority principle must settle the matter this blessed day, unless it be reconsidered. The prologue was so happy, that, like some of Garrick's, it promised to be better than the play it was to introduce. But if the happiest of prologues must come to an end, we can only hope that "the swelling act of the Imperial theme" to come, will be worthy of it. There were, certainly, very pretty passages in it. Could anything be more exquisitely Pickwickian than the settlement of the Meade and Duer quarrel? For one honorable gentleman to give another the lie does not cast any imputation upon the veracity of the latter, but is only meant to express in the strongest terms the sense of the former honorable gentleman of the mistake into which he has fallen! And "the most August Body in the World," as somebody once styled the Senate of the United States, has been setting the House of Lords some valuable examples, and it is by no means certain that it will not be the stage upon which the most instructive and entertaining scenes will be presented to a discerning audience. The White House, too, cannot fail to furnish its due proportion of fun. The Whigs (though I am told you would be laughed at in Washington, if you used the epithet,) have the grace to be ashamed of their President and will keep him in the back-ground all they can, but some of his *richnesses* will get wind in spite of them. It is supposed that he believes the present state of things in Congress to be the usual one and the common way of doing public business. And as to the breach of faith with which the Democrats charge him, it can be easily explained away on the probable hypothesis that he really thinks he has kept his pledges of impartiality to the two parties and does not know the difference between a Whig and a Democrat.

I was told, not long since, a circumstance illustrative of how innocent he is of the knowledge of what his cabinet is about, which certainly deserves to be true if it be not. I was not present at the time, and only tell the tale as it was told to me: Some pious New England man (for you know the mass of our Piety went for the nomination which was "unfit to be made") visiting the President not long after the Fast Proclamation was issued, thought to gratify his host and win favor to himself by assuring him of the delight with which Northern Religion hailed this holy demonstration

'Eh! What?" exclaimed the hero of Buena Vista, "I beg your pardon, but I don't exactly know what you mean."

"Why, sir," responded his devout supporter, "I allude to the excellent Proclamation you have just issued for a Fast, in view of the prevalence of the Cholera, for the purpose of averting the Divine displeasure."

"What's that?" said the President, more puzzled than ever, "do you mean to say that such a Proclimation as that has been issued?"

"Certainly, I do, sir," returned the guest, "and I can assure you that it has made your praise resound in all the Churches of New England."

"I *swear*!" roared out the astonished Head of the Nation, started out of his propriety by this unexpected news, (indeed, the *swearing* is all that throws an air of improbability over the story; but I am bound to historical accuracy,) "I *swear*! I'll bet a Nigger it's some of that d—d Tom Ewing's work! I never heard of it before!"

I have just returned from Plymouth, where, as you know, the Plymouth County A. S. Society audaciously helped itself to the old Forefathers' Day, which the Pilgrim Society had abandoned for a season more congenial to modern Constitutions. The attempt was successful in the highest degree. Although the weather on Saturday was unfavorable, amounting to a violent storm in the afternoon, a large concourse assembled from various parts of the State and County. The large Church on the Green was well filled on that day and crowded on Sunday. Daniel Webster or Edward Everett could not have filled it fuller than it was in the afternoon and evening. Every seat and standing place was crammed and multitudes had to depart without the sight. Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, Douglass Remond, Quincy, Professor Reason, Miss Stone, Mr. Edmonds, the tarred and feathered of Palmetto Chivalry, Mr Buffum and various other persons addressed the meeting, which was pronounced by connoisseurs in the article the best ever held in Plymouth and as good as could be held anywhere. The Plymouth Abolitionists were entirely satisfied with its success and the probabilities of its good effects. We all agreed that it was the first appropriate Celebration of the Day for Sixty years, at least.

On arriving, I repaired to Faneuil Hall, where the sales were proceeding briskly, although it was snowing and the doors were hardly opened, or the articles arranged. The display of goods is pronounced by better judges than I to be finer than usual. Of these matters I shall be able to speak more at large in my next number.

And so they have got a Speaker, at last! Good! And a Southern Democrat, too! Very good! And Mr. Winthrop conducted him to the Chair! Very excellent good! It is not often that a man enjoys the privilege of walking as Chief Mourner to his own Funeral!—D. Y.

* We will not venture to interfere with this specimen of our Correspondent's phonetical ingenuity. In the German vulgate the word is *Christkindlienbaum*.—ED. *Standard*.

Letter from Parker Pillsbury.

CLINTON, Dutchess Co., Dec. 15, 1849.

DEAR FRIEND GAY:—If you would know what the Anti-Slavery enterprise has accomplished, take a field agency of a few weeks, on soil where the voice of an Anti-Slavery agent of the school of "Moral Suasion," was never heard. In such a field, you will see preserved in a state of moral petrifaction, just what our whole country presented twenty years ago. Liberty party has flapped its raven wings over this region, and the henhawks of Free Soil have brooded over and preyed upon the people. And the result has been as elsewhere, when these birds of ill omen have appeared. There is almost no knowledge at all on the evils of Slavery, either to the immediate victims themselves, or to the nation at large, but especially to the non-slaveholding States; no idea of any responsibility or accountability on the part of the North, for the continuance of the evil; no conception of the diabolical means and measures by which the evil is kept in existence; and no thought upon any plan (unless it be Henry Clay's,) for its removal. If we could by our fervent prayer, persuade the Almighty to keep the world standing long enough for Mr. Clay to carry out his "scheme of emancipation," I don't know but we might induce the Whigs of New York to espouse it out of respect to its originator. But as there is no ground of hope that any amount of faith would secure a favorable answer to so unreasonable a prayer, and as the New Yorkers are reluctant to act upon uncertainties, I should be indisposed to recommend this field to Mr. Clay's missionaries

But seriously, it is most surprising how many lectures a political Abolitionist can give in a place and the people know no more on the main subject than they did before—if indeed, they do not know less.

My labors in this county have been confined chiefly to villages and towns recently visited by Mr. and Mrs. Foster. And they were the first heralds of the true Anti-Slavery faith, whose voices had been heard among these mountains and valleys. And the people were astonished at their doctrine. Many honest-hearted men and women have taken me to their homes to enquire of me, "how can these things be"—and they have told me what Mr. Foster has said, and what Mrs. Foster said, and then asked me if there were not some mistake about, it! But in every case I have been compelled to add my testimony, (sometimes with additional proofs,) to the truth of what they uttered. And then they would say "well if these are facts, our politicians have deceived us, and our ministers have lied to us outright." The Methodists say, "why, our ministers have twenty times told us, we were separated from the South, and that there is neither slave nor slaveholders, in all the North ern General Conference." And when told that there are several whole Annual Conferences, and some whole States of slaveholders in the Northern General Conference, you may be sure it requires evidence to satisfy them, for it convicts many of their ministers and elders of lies and hypocrisy, for which Perdition might pay premium. To lecture and labor among such a people, and under such circumstances, is a calling not surely greatly to be desired. It gives a meaning to the word *Missionary*, such as none can apprehend, but those who learn in the school of Experience.

We are trying to procure subscribers to the *Standard* by every means in our power. If that can pay its weekly visit after we leave, there is good ground of hope. And if you will allow me to suggest in reference to a paper which is now conducted as near perfection as any I know, or have known, I should say make the *Standard* as instructive as possible, not forgetting our first principles. It should be as a table set with adaptation to a whole community, from mother's milk for babes, to meat and marrow for the strongest men: like a spelling book I once saw, that begun with the alphabet and ended with some very profound lessons in astronomy and algebra.

Pardon the liberty I take. Be assured there is but one voice among the Abolitionists, as to the admirable character of the *Standard*, and it was only the pressing wants of these new scholars in Anti-Slavery science that induced the suggestion I have made. Facts and statistics such as sparkle in the speeches of Horace Mann and John G. Palfrey, or flash from the mouth of Joshua R. Giddings, on every question connected with Slavery, from the bargain for Louisiana to the purchase of Florida, and from the annexation of Texas to the donation of Oregon to Great Britain—from the slaughter of the Seminoles to the massacre of the Mexicans; from the monstrous transactions in the distribution of surplus revenue to the still more atrocious inequality in the arrangement of the Post Office; to say nothing of the unequal distribution of the offices between North and South, from the President down to majors in the army, and midshipmen in the navy. All these are now stale things to us, perhaps. But if we go down foundationwards we shall find our present Anti-Slavery character is *underpined* in part with these very facts; and that they are essential to the strength of the fabric which now appears to so good advantage to us and others. And what beginners needed ten or twenty years ago, beginners need now.

Yours, most truly,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

The President's Message.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Sixty years have elapsed since the establishment of this Government, and the Congress of the United States again assembles to legislate for an empire of freemen. The predictions of evil prophets, who formerly pretended to foretell the downfall of our institutions, are now remembered only to be derided, and the United States of America, at this moment, presents to the world the most stable and permanent Government on earth.

Such is the result of the labors of those who have gone before us. Upon Congress will eminently depend the future maintenance of our system of free government, and the transmission of it, unimpaired, to posterity.

We are at peace with all the world, and seek to maintain our cherished relations of amity with the rest of mankind. During the past year, we have been blessed, by a kind Providence, with an abundance of the fruits of the earth; and, although the destroying angel, for a time, visited extensive portions of our territory with the ravages of a dreadful pestilence, yet, the Almighty has at length deigned to stay his hand, and to restore the inestimable blessing of general health to a people who have acknowledged his power, deprecated his wrath, and implored his merciful protection.

While enjoying the benefits of amicable intercourse with foreign nations, we have not been insensible to the distractions and wars which have prevailed in other quarters of the world. It is a proper theme of thanksgiving to Him who rules the destinies of nations, that we have been able to maintain, amidst all these contests, an independent and neutral position towards all belligerent powers.

Our relations with Great Britain are of the most friendly character. In consequence of the recent alteration of the British navigation acts, British vessels, from British and other foreign ports, will, (under our existing laws,) after the first day of January next be admitted to entry in our ports, with cargoes of the growth, manufacture, or production of any part of the world, on the same terms, as to duties, imports and charges, as vessels of the United States with their cargoes; and our vessels will be admitted to the same advantages in British ports, entering therein on the same terms as British vessels. Should no order in council disturb this legislative arrangement, the late act of the British Parliament, by which Great Britain is brought within the terms proposed by the act of Congress of the 1st of March, 1817, it is hoped, will be productive of benefit to both countries.

A slight interruption of diplomatic intercourse, which occurred between this Government and France, I am happy to say, has been terminated, and our Minister there has been received. It is therefore unnecessary to refer, now, to the circumstances which led to this interruption. I need not express to you the sincere satisfaction with which we shall welcome the arrival of another Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from a sister republic, to which we have so long been, and still remain, bound by the strongest ties of amity.

Shortly after I had entered upon the discharge of the Executive duties, I was apprized that a war steamer, belonging to the German Empire, was being fitted out in the harbor of New York, with the aid of some of our naval officers, rendered under the permission of the late Secretary of the Navy. This permission was granted during an armistice between that Empire and the Kingdom of Denmark, which had been engaged in the Schleswig-Holstein war. Apprehensive that this act of intervention on our part, might be viewed as a violation of our neutral obligations, incurred by the treaty with Denmark, and of the provisions of the act of Congress, of the 20th of April, 1818, I directed that no further aid should be rendered by any agent or officer of the Navy; and I instructed the Secretary of State to apprize the Minister of the German Empire accredited to this government of my determination to execute the law of the United States, and to maintain the faith of treaties with all nations.

The correspondence, which ensued between the Department of State and the Minister of the German Empire, is herewith laid before you. The execution of the law and the observance of the treaty were deemed by me to be due to the honor of the country, as well as to the sacred obligations of the Constitution. I shall not fail to pursue the same course, should a similar case arise with any other nation. Having avowed the opinion on taking the oath of office, that, in disputes between conflicting foreign governments, it is our interest, not less than our duty, to remain strictly neutral, I shall not abandon it. You will perceive, from the correspondence submitted to you, in connection with this subject that the course adopted in this case has been properly regarded by the belligerent powers interested in the matter.

Although a Minister of the United States to the German Empire was appointed by my predecessor, in August 1848, and has, for a long time, been in attendance, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine; and although a Minister, appointed to represent that Empire, was received and accredited here, yet no such government as that of the German Empire has been definitely constituted. Mr. Donelson, our representative at Frankfort, remained there several months, in the expectation that a union of the German States, under one constitution or form of government, might at length be organized. It is believed by those well acquainted with the existing relations between Prussia and the States of Germany, that no such union can be, permanently established without her co-operation. In the event of the formation of such a union, and the organization of a neutral power in Germany, of which she should form a part, it would become necessary to withdraw our Minister at Berlin; but while Prussia exists as an independent kingdom, and diplomatic relations are maintained with her, there can be no necessity for the continuance of the mission to Frankfort. I have, therefore, recalled Mr. Donelson, and directed the archives of the legation, at Frankfort, to be transferred to the American legation at Berlin.

Having been apprized that a considerable number of adventurers were engaged in fitting out a military expedition, within the United States, against a foreign country; and believing, from the best information I could obtain, that it was destined to invade the island of Cuba, I deemed it due to the friendly relations existing between the United States and Spain; to the treaty between the two nations, to the laws of the United States, and, above all, to the American honor, to exert the lawful authority of this Government in suppressing the expedition and preventing the invasion. To this end, I issued a proclamation, enjoining it upon the officers of the United States, civil and military, to use all lawful means within their power. A copy of that proclamation is herewith submitted. So long as the act of Congress of April 20, 1818, which owes its existence to the law of nations and to the policy of Washington himself, shall remain on our statute book, I hold it to be the duty of the Executive faithfully to obey its injunctions.

While this expedition was in progress, I was informed that a foreigner, who claimed our protection, had been clandestinely, and, as was supposed, forcibly carried off in a vessel from New Orleans to the Island of Cuba. I immediately caused such steps to be taken as I thought necessary, in case the information I had received should prove correct, to vindicate the honor of the country, and the right of every person seeking an asylum on our soil to the protection of our laws. The person alleged to have been abducted was promptly restored, and the circumstances of the case now are about to undergo investigation before a judicial tribunal. I would respectfully suggest, that although the crime charged to have been committed in this case is held odious as being in conflict with our opinions on the subject of national sovereignty and personal freedom, there is no prohibition of it, or punishment for it, provided in any act of Congress. The expediency of supplying this defect in our criminal code is therefore recommended to your consideration.

I have scrupulously avoided any interference in the wars and contentions which have recently distracted Europe.

During the last conflict between Austria and Hungary, there seemed to be a prospect that the latter might become an independent nation. However faint that prospect at the time appeared, I thought it my duty, in accordance with the general sentiment of the American people, who deeply sympathized with the Magyar patriots, to stand prepared, upon the contingency of the establishment by her of a permanent government, to be the first to welcome independent Hungary into the family of nations. For this purpose, I invested an agent, then in Europe, with power to declare our willingness promptly to recognize her independence in the event of her ability to sustain it. The powerful intervention of Russia, in the contest, extinguished the hopes of the struggling Magyars. The United States did not at any time interfere in the contest; but the feelings of the nation were strongly enlisted in the cause, and by the sufferings of a brave people, who had made a gallant though unsuccessful effort to be free.

Our claims upon Portugal have been, during the past year, prosecuted with renewed vigor, and it has been my object to employ every effort of honorable diplomacy to procure their adjustment. Our late Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, the Hon. George W. Hopkins, made able and energetic, but unsuccessful efforts to settle these unpleasant matters of controversy, and to obtain indemnity for the wrongs which were the subjects of complaint. Our present Chargé d'Affaires of that court will, also, bring to the prosecution of these claims ability and zeal. The revolutionary and distracted condition of Portugal, in past times, has been represented as one of the leading causes of her delay in indemnifying our suffering citizens. But I must now say, it is a matter of profound regret that these claims have not been settled. The omission of Portugal to do justice to the American claimants has now assumed a character so grave and serious, that I shall shortly make it the subject of a special message to Congress, with a view to such ultimate action as its wisdom and patriotism may suggest.

With Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the Italian States we still maintain our accustomed amicable relations.

During the recent revolutions in the Papal States, our Chargé d'Affaires at Rome has been unable to present his letter of credence, which, indeed, he was directed by my predecessor to withhold until he should receive further orders. Such was the unsettled condition of things in those States, that it was not deemed expedient to give him any instructions on the subject of presenting his credential letter different from those with which he had been furnished by the late administration, until the 25th of June last; when, in consequence of the want of accurate information of the exact state of things, at that distance from us, he was instructed to exercise his own discretion in presenting himself to the then existing government, if, in his judgment, sufficiently stable, or if not, to await further events. Since that period, Rome has undergone another revolution, and he abides the establishment of a government sufficiently permanent to justify him in opening diplomatic intercourse with it.

With the republic of Mexico, it is our true policy to cultivate the most friendly relations. Since the ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, nothing has occurred of a serious character to disturb them. A faithful observance of the treaty, and a sincere respect for her rights, cannot fail to secure the lasting confidence and friendship of that republic. The message of my predecessor to the House of Representatives, of the 8th of February last, communicating, in compliance with a resolution of that body, a copy of a paper called a protocol, signed at Queretaro on the 30th of May, 1848, by the commissioners of the United States and the minister of foreign affairs of the Mexican government, having been a subject of correspondence between the Department of State and the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of that republic accredited to this government, a transcript of that correspondence is herewith submitted.

The Commissioner on the part of the United States for marking the boundary between the two republics, though delayed in reaching San Diego by unforseen obstacles, arrived a short period after the time required by the treaty, and was there joined by the Commissioner on the part of Mexico. They entered upon their duties; and, at the date of the latest intelligence from

operate in promoting the success of the enterprise. I do not recommend any appropriation from the National Treasury for this purpose, nor do I believe that such an appropriation is necessary. Private enterprise, if properly protected, will complete the work, should it prove to be feasible. The parties who have procured the charter from Nicaragua, for its construction, desire no assistance from this Government beyond its protection; and they profess that, having examined the proposed line of communication, they will be ready to commence the undertaking whenever that protection shall be extended to them. Should there appear to be reason, on examining the whole evidence, to entertain a serious doubt of the practicability of constructing such a Canal, that doubt could be speedily solved by an actual exploration of the route.

Should such a work be constructed, under the common protection of all nations, for equal benefits to all, it would be neither just nor expedient that any great maratime State should command the communication. The territory through which the canal may be opened ought to be freed from the chains of any foreigh power. No such power should occupy a position that would enable it hereafter to exercise so controlling an influence over the commerce of the world, or to obstruct a highway which ought to be dedicated to the common uses of mankind.

The routes across the Isthmus, at Tehuantepec and Panama, are also worthy of our serious consideration. They did not fail to engage the attention of my predecessor. The negotiator of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, was instructed to offer a very large sum of money for the right of transit across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The Mexican government did not accede to the proposition for the purchase of the right of way, probably because it had already contracted with private individuals for the construction of a passage from the Guasaculaco river to Tehuantepec.

I shall not renew any proposition to purchase, for money, a right which ought to be equally secured to all nations, on payment of a reasonable toll to the owners of the improvement, who would, doubtless, be well content with that compensation and the guarantees of the maratime State of the world, in separate treaties negotiated with Mexico, binding her and them to protect those who should construct the work. Such guarantees would do more to secure the completion of the communication through the territory of Mexico, than any other reasonable consideration that could be offered; and as Mexico herself would be the greatest gainer by the opening of this communication between the Gulf and the Pacific ocean, it is presumed that she would not hesitate to yield her aid, in the manner proposed, to accomplish an improvement so important to her own best interests.

We have reason to hope that the proposed railroad across the Isthmus at Panama will be successfully constructed, under the protection of the late treaty with New Grenada ratified and exchanged by my predecessor on the 10th day of June, 1848, which guaranties the perfect neutrality of the Isthmus, and the rights of sovereigty and property of New Granada over that territory, "with a view that the free transit from ocean to ocean may not be interrupted or embarrassed" during the existence of the treaty. It is our policy to encourage every practicable route across the Isthmus, which connects North and South America, either by railroad or canal, which the energy and enterprise of our citizens may induce them to complete; and I consider it obligatory upon me to adopt that policy, especially in consequence of the absolute necessity of facilitating intercourse with our possessions on the Pacific.

The position of the Sandwich Islands, with reference to the territory of the United States on the Pacific; the success of our persevering and benevolent citizens, who have repaired to that remote quarter, in Christianizing the natives, and inducing them to adopt a system of government and laws suited to their capacity and wants; and the use made by our different whale ships of the harbors of the islands as places of resort for obtaining refreshments and repairs, all combine to render their destiny peculiarly interesting to us.

It is our duty to encourage the authorities of those islands in their efforts to improve and elevate the moral and political condition of the inhabitants; and we should make reasonable allowances for the difficulties inseparable from this task. We desire that the islands may maintain their independence, and that other nations should concur with us in the sentiment. We could in no event, be indifferent to their passing under the dominion of any other power. The principal commercial States have in this a common interest, and it is to be hoped that no one of them will attempt to interpose obstacles to the entire independence of the islands.

The receipts into the Treasury for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June last, were, in cash, forty-eight millions eight hundred and thirty thousand ninety-seven dollars and fifty cents, ($48,830,097 50,) and in Treasury notes funded, ten millions eight hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars, (10,833,000,) making an aggregate of fifty-nine millions six hundred and sixty-three thousand ninety-seven dollars and fifty cents, (59,663,097, 50;) and the expenditures for the same time were, in cash, forty-six millions seven hundred and ninety-eight thousand six hundred and sixty-seven dollars and eighty-two cents, ($46,798,667 82,) and in Treasury notes funded, ten millions eight hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars, ($10,833,000,) making an aggregate of fifty-seven millions six hundred and sixty-seven dollars and eighty-two cents, ($57,631,667-82.)

The accounts and estimates which will be submitted to Congress in the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, show that there will probably be a deficit, occasioned by the expenses of the Mexican war and treaty, on the first day of July next, of five millions eight hundred and twenty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-one dollars and sixty-six cents (5,828, 121,66,) and on the first day of July, 1851, of ten millions five hundred and forty-seven thousand and ninety-two dollars and seventy-three cents, (10,547,092,73,) making in the whole a probable deficit, to be provided for, of sixteen millions three hundred and seventy-five thousand two hundred and fourteen dollars and thirty-nine cents, (16,375,214,39.) The extraordinary expenses of the war with Mexico, and the purchase of California and New Mexico, exceed in amount this deficit, together with the loans heretofore made for those objects. I therefore recommend that authority be given to borrow whatever sum may be necessary to cover that deficit. I recommend the observance of strict economy in the appropriation and expenditure of public money.

I recommend a revision of the existing tariff, and its adjustment on a basis which may augment the revenue. I do not doubt the right or duty of Congress to encourage domestic industry, which is the great source of national as well as individual wealth and prosperity. I look to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress for the adoption of a system which may place home labor, at last, on a sure and permanent footing, and, by due encouragement of manufactures, give a new and increased stimulus to agriculture, and promote the development of our vast resources and the extension of our commerce. Believing that to the attainment of these ends (as well as the necessary augmentation of the revenue and the prevention of frauds) a system of specific duties is best adapted, I strongly recommend to Congress the adoption of that system, fixing the duties at rates high enough to afford substantial and sufficient encouragement to our own industry, and at the same time so adjusted as to insure stability.

The question of the continuance of the Sub-Treasury system is respectfully submitted to the wisdom of Congress. If continued, important modifications of it appear to be indispensable.

For further details and views on the above and other matters connected with commerce, the finances, and revenue, I refer to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

No direct aid has been given by the General Government to the improvement of agriculture except by the expenditure of small sums for the collection and publication of agricultural statistics, and for some chemical analysis, which have been, thus far, paid for out of the patent fund. This aid is, in my opinion, wholly inadequate. To give to this leading branch of American industry the encouragement which it merits, I respectfully recommend the establishment of an Agricultural Bureau, to be connected with the Department of the Interior. To elevate the social condition of the agriculturalist, to increase his prosperity, and to extend his means of usefulness to his country, by multiplying his sources of information, should be the study of every statesman, and a primary object with every legislator.

No civil government having been provided by Congress for California, the people of that Territory, impelled by the necessities of their political condition, recently met in convention, for the purpose of forming a constitution and State government, which, the latest advices give me reason to suppose, has been accomplished; and it is believed they will shortly apply for the admission of California into the Union, as a sovereign State. Should such be the case, and should their constitution be conformable to the requisitions of the Constitution of the United States, I recommend their application to the favorable consideration of Congress.

The people of New Mexico, will also, it is believed, at no very distant period, present themselves for admission into the Union. Preparatory to the admission of California and New Mexico, the people of each will have instituted for themselves a republican form of government, "laying its foundations in such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

By awaiting their action, all causes of uneasiness may be avoided, and confidence and kind feeling preserved. With a view of obtaining the harmony and tranquility so dear to all, we should abstain from the introduction of those exciting topics of a sectional character which have hitherto produced painful apprehensions in the public mind; and I repeat the solemn warning of the first and most illustrious of my predecessors against furnishing "any ground for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations."

A Collector has been appointed at San Francisco, under the act of Congress extending the revenue laws over the California; and measures have been taken to organize the custom-houses at that and the other ports mentioned in that act, at the earliest period practicable. The collector proceeded overland, and advices have not yet been received of his arrival at San Francisco. Meanwhile, it is understood that the customs have continued to be collected there by officers acting under the military authority, as they were during the administration of my predecessor. It will, I think, be expedient to confirm the collections thus made, and direct the avails, (after such allowances as Congress may think fit to authorize,) to be expended within the Territory, or to be paid into the Treasury, for the purpose of meeting appropriations for the improvement of its rivers and harbors.

A party, engaged on the coast survey, was despatched to Oregon, in January last. According to the latest advices, they had not left California; and directions have been given to them, as soon as they shall have fixed on the sites of the two lighthouses and the buoys authorized to be constructed and placed in Oregon, to proceed without delay to make reconnoissances of the most important points on the coast of California, and especially to examine and determine on sites for lighthouses on that coast, the speedy erection of which is urgently demanded by our rapidly increasing commerce.

I have transferred the Indian Agencies from Upper Missouri and Council Bluffs to Santa Fé and Salt Lake; and have caused to be appointed sub-agents to the valleys of the Gila, the Sacramento, and San Joaquin rivers. Still further legal provisions will be necessary for the effective and successful extension of our system of Indian intercourse over the new Territories.

I recommend the establishment of a branch mint in California, as it will, in my opinion, afford important facilities to those engaged in mining, as well as to the Government in the disposition of the mineral lands.

I also recommend that commissions be organized by Congress, to examine and decide upon the validity of the present subsisting land titles in California and New Mexico; and that provision be made for the establishment of offices of Surveyor General in New Mexico, California and Oregon, and for the surveying and bringing into market the public lands in those Territories.—Those lands, remote in position and difficult of access, ought to be disposed of on terms liberal to all, but especially favorable to the early emigrants.

In order that the situation and character of the principal mineral deposites in California may be ascertained, I recommend that a geological and mineralogical exploration be connected with the linear surveys, and the mineral lands be divided into small lots suitable for mining, and be disposed of, by sale or lease, so as to give our citizens an opportunity of procuring a permanent right of property in the soil. This would seem to be as important to the success of mining as of agricultural pursuits.

The great mineral wealth of California, and the advantages which its ports and harbors, and those of Oregon, afford to commerce, especially with the Islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans, and the populous regions of Eastern Asia, make it certain that there will arise, in a few years, large and prosperous communities, on our western coast. It, therefore, becomes important that a line of communication, the best and most expeditious which the nature of the country will admit, should be opened, within the territory of the United States, from the navigable waters of the Atlantic or the Gulf of Mexico, to the Pacific. Opinion, as elicited and expressed by two large and respectable conventions, lately assembled at St. Louis and Memphis, points to a railroad as that which, if practicable, will best meet the wishes and wants of the country. But while this, if in successful operation, would be a work of great national importance, and of value to the country which it would be difficult to estimate, it ought also to be regarded as an undertaking of vast magnitude and expense, and one which must, if it be, indeed, practicable, encounter many difficulties in its construction and use.

Therefore, to avoid failure and disappointment; to enable Congress to judge whether, in the condition of the country through which it must pass, the work be feasible, and if it be found so, whether it should be undertaken as a national improvement or left to individual enterprise; and in the latter alternative, what aid, if any, ought to be extended to it by the Government, I recommend as a preliminary measure a careful reconnoissance of the several proposed routes by a scientific corps, and a report as to the practicability of making such road, with an estimate of the cost of its construction and support.

For further views on these and other matters connected with the duties of the Home Department, I refer you to the Report of the Secretary of the Interior.

I recommend early appropriations for continuing the river and harbor improvements which have been already begun, and also for the construction of those for which estimates have been made, as well as for examinations and estimates preparatory to the commencement of such others as the wants of the country, and especially the advance of our population over new districts, and the extension of commerce, may render necessary. An estimate of the amount which can be advantageously expended within the next fiscal year, under the direction of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, accompanies the Report of the Secretary of War, to which I respectfully invite the attention of Congress.

The cession of territory made by the late treaty with Mexico has greatly extended our exposed frontier, and rendered its defence more difficult. That treaty has also brought us under obligations to Mexico, to comply with which a military force is requisite. But our military establishment is not materially changed, as to its efficiency, from the condition in which it stood before the commencement of the Mexican war. Some addition to it will therefore be necessary; and I recommend to to the favorable consideration of Congress an increase of the several corps of the army at our distant western posts, as proposed in the accompanying report of the Secretary of War.

Great embarrassment has resulted from the effect upon rank, in the army, heretofore given to brevet and staff commissions. The views of the Secretary of War on this subject are deemed important, and if carried into effect will, it is believed, promote the harmony of the service. The plan proposed for retiring disabled officers, and providing an asylum for such of the rank and file as from age, wounds, and other infirmities occasioned by service, have become unfit to perform their respective duties, is recommended as a means of increasing the efficiency of the army, and as an act of justice due from a grateful country to a faithful soldier.

The accompanying Report of the Secretary of the Navy presents a full and satisfactory account of the condition and operations of the naval service during the past year. Our citizens engaged in the legitimate pursuits of commerce have enjoyed its benefits. Wherever our national vessels have gone, they have been received with respect, our officers have been treated with kindness and courtesy, and they have on all occasions pursued a course of strict neutrality, in accordance with the policy of our Government.

The naval force at present in commission is as large as is admissable, with the number of men authorized by Congress to be employed.

I invite your attention to the recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy on the subject of a re-organization of the Navy, in its various grades of officers, and the establishing of a retired list for such of the officers as are disqualified for active and effective service.—Should Congress adopt some such measure as is recommended, it will greatly increase the efficiency of the Navy and reduce its expenditures.

I also ask your attention to the views expressed by him in reference to the employment of war steamers, and in regard to the contracts for the transportation of the United States' mails, and the operation of the system upon the prosperity of the Navy.

By an act of Congress passed August the 14th, 1848, provision was made for extending post-offices and mail accommodations to California and Oregon. Exertions have been made to execute that law; but the limited provisions of the act, the inadequacy of the means it authorizes the ill adaptation of our post-office laws to the situation of that country, and the measure of compensation for services allowed by those laws, compared with the prices of labor and rents in California, render those exertions in a great degree, ineffectual. More particular and efficient provision by law is required on this subject.

The act of 1845, reducing postage, has now, by its operation during four years, produced results fully showing that the income from such reduced postage is sufficient to sustain the whole expense of the service of the Post Office Department, not including the cost of transportation in mail steamers on the lines from New York to Chagres, and from Panama to Astoria, which have not been considered by Congress as properly belonging to the mail service.

It is submitted to the wisdom of Congress, whether a further reduction of postage should not now be made, more particularly on the letter correspondence. This should be relieved from the unjust burthen of transporting and delivering the franked matter of Congress, for which public service provision should be made from the treasury. I confidently believe that a change may safely be made, reducing all single-letter postage to the uniform rate of five cents, regardless of distance without thereby imposing any greater tax on the treasury than would constitute a very moderate compensation for this public service; and I therefore respectfully recommend such a reduction. Should Congress prefer to abolish the franking privilege entirely, it seems probable that no demand on the treasury would result from the proposed reduction of postage. Whether any further diminution should now be made, or the result of the reduction to five cents, which I have recommended, should be first tested, is submitted to your decision.

Since the commencement of the last session of Congress, a Postal treaty with Great Britain has been received and ratified, and such regulations have been formed by the Post Office Departments of the two countries, in pursuance of that treaty, as to carry its provisions into full operation. The attempt to extend this arrangement, through England to France, has not been equally successful; but the purpose has not been abandoned.

For a particular statement of the condition of the Post Office Department, and other matters connected with that branch of the public service, I refer you to the report of the Postmaster General.

By the act of the 3d of March, 1849, a Board was constituted to make arragements for taking the seventh census, composed of the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the Postmaster General; and it was made the duty of this Board "to prepare and cause to be printed such forms and schedules as might be necessary for the full enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States; and also proper forms and schedules for collecting in statistical tables, under proper heads, such information as to mines, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, education, and other topics, as would exhibit a full view of the pursuits, industry, education, and other resources of the country." The duties enjoined upon the Census Board, thus established, having been performed, it now rests with Congress to enact a law for carrying into effect the provision of the Constitution which requires an actual enumeration of the people of the United States within the ensuing year.

Among the duties assigned by the Constitution to the General Government is one of local and limited application but not, on that account, the less obligatory; I allude to the trust committed to Congress, as the exclusive legislator and sole guardian of the interests of the District of Columbia. I beg to commend these interests to your kind attention. As the National metropolis, the city of Washinton must be an object of general interest; and, founded as it was under the auspices of him whose immortal name it bears, its claims to the fostering care of Congress present themselves with additional strength. Whatever can contribute to its prosperity must enlist the feelings of its Constitutional guardians, and command their favorable consideration.

Our Government is one of limited powers, and its successful administration eminently depends on the confinement of each of its co-ordinate branches within its appropriate sphere. The first section of the Constitution ordains that "legislative powers therein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives." The Executive has authority to recommend (not dictate) measures to Congress. Having performed that duty, the Executive Department of the Government cannot rightfully control the decision of Congress on any subject of legislation, until that decision shall have been officially submitted to the President for approval.

The check provided by the Constitution, in the clause conferring the qualified veto, will never be exercised by me, except in the cases contemplated by the fathers of the Republic. I view it as an extreme measure, to be resorted to only in extraordinary cases—as where it may become necessary to defend the Executive against the encroachments of the legislative power, or to prevent hasty and inconsiderate or unconstitutional legislation. By cautiously confining the remedy within the sphere prescribed to it in the cotemporaneous expositions of the framers of the Constitution, the will of the people, legitimately expressed on all subjects of legislation, through their constitutional organs, the Senators and Representatives of the United States, will have its full effect.

As indispensable to the preservation of self-government, the independence of the Representatives of the States and the people is guaranteed by the Constitution; and they owe no responsibility to any human power but their constituents. By holding the Representatives responsible only to the people, and exempting them from all other influences, we elevate the character of the constituent and quicken his sense of responsibility to his country. It is under these circumstances only that the elector can feel that, in the choice of the law-maker, he is himself, truly, a competent part of the sovereign power of the nation. With equal care we should study to defend the rights of the executive and judicial departments.

Our government can only be preserved in its purity by the suppression and entire elimination of every claim or tendency of one co-ordinate branch to encroachment upon another. With the strict observance of this rule and the other injunctions of the Constitution—with a sedulous inculcation of that respect and love for the Union of the States, which our fathers cherished and enjoined upon their children, and with the aid of that overruling Providence which has so long and so kindly guarded our liberties and institutions, we may reasonably expect to transmit them with their innumerable blessings to the remotest posterity.

But attachment to the union of the States should be habitually fostered in every American heart. For more than half a century, during which kingdoms and empires have fallen, this Union has remained unshaken. The patriots who formed it have long since descended to the grave; yet still it remains, the proudest monument to their memory, and the object of affection and admiration with every one worthy to bear the American name.

In my judgment, its dissolution would be the greatest of calamities, and to avert that should be the study of every American. Upon its preservation must depend our own happiness and that of countless generations to come. Whatever dangers may threaten it, I shall stand by it and maintain it in its integrity, to the full extent of the obligations imposed, and the power conferred upon me by the Constitution.

Z. TAYLOR.

WASHINGTON, December 4th, 1849.

Congressional.

We copy from the Report in the *Evening Post* of this city the fullest report of the interesting debate in the Senate on the admission of Father Mathew, and the events in the House which led to the final choice of a Speaker.

DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING FATHER MATHEW.

The resolution inviting Father Mathew to a seat within the bar of the United States Senate, came up on Thursday, the 20th instant, for consideration.

Mr. CLEMENS, of Alabama, repeated the objections he had urged the day previous. He said:

The person upon whom it was proposed by the resolution, to confer the great and unprecedented honor, had been charged with having on a former occasion denounced one portion of the people of this Union with being little better than pirates or murderers. He had signed a paper charging the people of the south with crimes scarcely less than these. He had been addressed by several temperance societies at the south, in relation to this matter, and had either not answered, or had refused to allow his answers to be published. Those answers though not published, were of such a character as to induce him to oppose this resolution. The sentiments expressed by Father Mathew in relation to Slavery, had not been retracted, said Mr. Clemens. Therefore it was that he had objected yesterday, and would vote against it to-day. He was one who did not consider Slavery a sin or a crime, and he felt bound to meet those who so denounced it, by refusing at least to honor them for their sentiments.

Mr. CLAY viewed with the greatest regret the opposition to this resolution. It was a very small affair; it was the bestowal of a compliment on a distinguished and highly meritorious stranger, who doubtless would most highly appreciate it; yet was it an affair of such importance as to require such an opposition? In all the affairs of human life, social as well as political he had remarked that courtesies of a small and trivial character are the ones which strike deepest to the greatful and appreciating heart. It is the picayune compliments which are most appreciated; far more are they appreciated than the double-eagle ones which we sometimes yield. So it was with regard to this resolution. It was a very small courtesy the Senate was called upon to extend, and it would be prized by the noble philanthropist as a far greater compliment than any other in their power to bestow.

It was, viewing it in another light, a resolution of homage to humanity, philanthropy and virtue! a tribute to a man who by his own peaceful efforts, had effected a great social revolution—a revolution in which no lives had been sacrificed, no widow's or a mother's tears had followed. It was a compliment to such a man, and who could see any objection to its bestowal? The objection of the Senator upon the ground stated, and the introduction of this topic of Slavery upon all subjects and particularly such a one as the present, he thought highly impolitic, unwise, and unnecessary. Why should that subject be introduced upon such a motion as this? It was merely a resolution complimenting the man who had achieved, by his moral influence, an important and wide spread work of charity and benevolence. Father Mathew, for his labors in the great cause of temperance in Ireland, where he had redeemed from a degrading vice thousands of his fellow-countrymen, and earned a fame forever to endure, deserved the esteem and friendship of the friends of virtue everywhere. He had come to this country to carry out the same noble mission. Mr. C. had learned, from the publications of the day, that while at Boston the Abolitionists had endeavored to engage Father Mathew to enlist in their cause upon this subject. From this and other circumstances, Mr. C. had understood that a change had taken place in the opinions of Father Mathew, and that he stood now before the country unbiassed in his sentiments. Be this as it may, he submitted to Senators was it wise, politic, just or proper, that this subject of Slavery should be introduced upon every subject? He submitted whether, when the whole country was ready to meet this man with open arms, it was just and proper to refuse this trifling compliment to the great good Father Mathew, the noble philanthropist and the Irish patriot?

Mr. SEWARD said that the resolution was a tribute to worth and virtue, a testimony of homage to a benefactor of his race, concerning whose services in the cause of philanthropy and mercy, in Ireland, there was no difference of opinion. He had elevated the condition and character of a great people, united to us by friendship and kindred blood, and Mr. Seward, declared himself ready to join in any public act of homage to such worth and benevolence. If the Senator from Alabama thought himself bound to vote against the resolution, because Father Mathew held opinions unfavorable to the institution of Slavery, he must say, for his own part, that he regarded it as honorable to the great philanthropist that he entertained them—he held it to be a merit rather than an offence. If Slavery was a sin, or a violation of any right, none, of the present day, are answerable for its introduction among us; yet he could not consent to the rejection of this resolution, because Father Mathew held such an opinion.

Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi, was glad that the Senator from New York had placed this resolution on the true ground of Father Mathew's opinions of Slavery; that the Senator had placed its passage upon the ground that Father Mathew was opposed to Slavery; and now the question was, will the Senate of the United States honor a British emisary who comes amongst us, perhaps, to scatter discord and confusion? There was a time when every American heart would beat loudly at such a proposal; and were the sons of sires who held such a thing with feelings of horror and alarm, to sit quietly when such a thing was not only proposed but advocated? This Mr. Mathew held opinions adverse to the institutions of the South, and because he did so, the Senator from New York advocated our bestowing upon him an honor never conferred upon any man save Lafayette. He intended by his opposition to this resolution not to reflect, in the least, upon the character and esteem which should follow Father Mathew for his great efforts in the great cause of temperance. He esteemed him as highly as any one for his labors in that cause. He allowed him all the credit claimed for him on that account. But the question really was, whether the United States Senate shall extend to a foreigner, who was the ally of O'Connell in his efforts to effect an Abolition of Slavery in this country, an honor never before conferred upon a citizen of our own country. He would never, by his vote, sanction such a proceeding. If, as the Senator from Kentucky had said, Father Mathew had changed his sentiments upon this subject, why did he not say so, and why did he refuse to allow his letters, written in response to such inquiries, to be published? He honored the efforts of Father Mathew in his own unfortunate country, Ireland, and fully appreciated all he had done; but he was the ally of O'Connell in an appeal to his countrymen in this country to interfere in our institutions. Every Irishman was dear to him, (Mr D.)—dear to him as a brother; but for O'Connell and his horde of associate Abolitionists whether foreign or domestic, he felt no other feeling but scorn and contempt. If he had the power, he would not only refuse them admission to the Senate chamber, but he would go further, and exclude every Abolitionist, foreign and domestic, from the chamber.

Mr. WALKER, of Wisconsin, said that when he offered the resolution he had never heard of the opinions now attributed to Father Mathew, but if he had it would have made no difference. He regarded the reverend gentleman only as a philanthropist, bound on a mission of good. He regretted the introduction of the Slavery question into every little matter brought into the Senate. The south was as much interested in the mission of Father Mathew as any part of the Union, and he thought that the people in all quarters of the country would be astonished, when they heard of the objection now made by Senators from the south. He did not believe that Father Mathew came to this country with an intention to excite disturbance in any part of it.

Mr. HALE said he should vote for the resolution, but if the resolution were to be supported on Anti-Slavery grounds he should not support it for Father Mathew was not an Anti-Slavery man. Father Mathew had retracted what he had said against Slavery; he had taken his stand on the platform of non-intervention. The Senator from Mississippi had said that he would exclude, if he had the power, any Abolitionist, foreign and domestic, from the Senate. For his own part, Mr. Hale said he would not, if he could, exclude all the slaveholders; he would only turn out about three-fifths of them, and then the committees might be more fairly organized than now.

Mr. BADGER thought that no good could come out from this resolution, and said he should move to lay it on the table.

Mr. CASS said he joined with the senator from Kentucky in regretting the opposition to this resolution. He knew nothing beyond what was stated to-day, and cared nothing for the opinions of Father Mathew. He thought the senator from New Hampshire good authority on this subject, and that his statement to the effect that Father Mathew was not an Anti-Slavery man should do away all the difficulty which had been raised on the subject. When the Abolitionists of Boston called on Father Mathew, he told them that he would have nothing to do with them or with the subject of Slavery. Father Mathew was a philanthropist, coming to this country on an errand of good. We give a seat in the Senate to a conqueror returning from war, why not to a greater conqueror triumphant by peaceful weapons?

Mr. DAVIS of Mississippi, remarked that this was a mistake. The officers of the Mexican war who received thanks from Congress were only admitted

Mr. CASS said there was a standing resolution to the effect. But, if there never was such a case before, he would make one now, and pass this resolution. There never was such a man, engaged in such a cause, come among us before, and he would make his case an exception to all others.

Mr. FOOTE said that he agreed with all that had been said by the senator from Alabama, [Mr. Clemens,] and all that had been said by his chivalrous colleague, [Mr. Davis] and if it was true, that Father Mathew had come among them as an Abolitionist and an incendiary, he would be for rejecting the resolution. But the senator from New York, whose speech was the strangest he ever heard in the Senate, had in vain attempted to make Father Mathew an Abolitionist. That good man had turned from the Abolitionists and their schemes with abhorrence and disgust, and when visited by Garrison, had planted himself firmly on the ground of non-interference in the Slavery question. Mr. Foote went on to say:

He had heard, within an hour or so, that letters had been addressed to Father Mathew, from the south, on this subject; and that he had responded, but desired his responses should not be published. If these responses were published the senator from New York would not have had the opportunity so rudely and inconsiderately seized upon, to identify the philanthropist with the most infamous cause of Abolitionism. There were some men who would ruin any cause of which they took hold, and the senator from New York was an evidence of it. There was once two men charged with crime, on trial, and their defence was entrusted to a young and inexperienced attorney, who managed the cause most awkwardly, and, by his mode of commenting on the evidence, had dissipated any doubts as to the guilt of one of his clients; when, about commencing with the case of the other, the judge said to him, "Young man, you have already by your speech hung one of your clients; forbear, then, I beseech you or you will hang the other." So it was with the senator from New York, who, by his ill timed and rudely managed speech, had endangered the passage of this resolution. Mr. Foote at length, pursued the political history of the senator from New York, (Mr. Steward,) and commented with much freedom upon his political acts, as governor, and before the people; and was understood to attribute the support to this resolution by the senator from New York as coming from a desire to secure the Irish vote for himself in the election for President in 1852.

Mr. MANGUM said that the resolution was unnecessary. Father Mathew might have come on the floor of the Senate without it. He should vote for it, notwithstanding. Father Mathew had done more good than any other man of the age, and he neither knew nor cared what he thought of Slavery. The institutions of the south were founded on grounds too safe to be shaken by such a resolution as this. He would have been glad to give this great philanthropist some more substantial tribute.

Mr. BUTLER was surprised when the resolution was offered, because it was something unusual and entirely without precedent. As to the views of the reverend gentleman named in the resolution, he had happened to be at Columbia, in his State, when a message or letter was received there from Father Mathew in reply to one addressed him on the subject by Judge Lumpkin, of Georgia. That reply was, in substance, that he (Father Mathew) desired to keep aloof from all political parties of the country. His view was, that the question should be left to the people to settle as they thought proper; not opposed to the South, but very liberal. But, Mr. Butler was opposed to it on the ground that it was establishing a very bad, and, in time, would be a very troublesome, precedent. With all respect to Father Mathew, he did not desire to put him on the same footing as Lafayette. The honors conferred by the Senate ought not to be cheapened

Mr. DICKINSON of New York, thought the resolution unnecessary, but being introduced he would vote for it, without going behind it to raise questions which would come up soon enough.

Mr. BADGER opposed the resolution as unprecedented, and moved to lay it on the table.

Mr. DAVIS of Louisiana the motion to lay on the table being withdrawn, said that were not this an extraordinary case, he should vote against the resolution. Father Mathew came on a mission of peace and benevolence, and was wanted at the South. He hoped he would be well received there. Was it well of the South to dread this man's visiting our country, and beholding our institutions? Would not the North tell him they were afraid to have that institution seen?

Mr. PEARCE, of Maryland, said he objected to the resolution, as establishing a bad precedent. Kossuth might be here soon. Ujhazy was already in the country; Georgey might also come. What should we do in their case, if we grant this privilege to Father Mathew?

Mr. DOUGLASS, of Illinois, said that he should vote for the resolution because of the character of Father Mathew, as a philanthroopist, and on no other account. He was desirous to lay out of the question all other considerations. He then commented with some warmth on the introduction of the topic of Slavery into the debate, and charged it upon the Senators from New York and New Hampshire.

Mr. HALE disclaimed having done so; and

Mr. SEWARD said he had not. He preferred to be misrepresented rather than interrupt a debate. What he had said was this: The Senator from Alabama had opposed the resolution on the ground that Father Mathew was opposed to Slavery. He (Mr. S.) had simply stated, that this, rather than being a cause for our withdrawing this compliment, enhanced the merit of the man.

Mr. CLEMENS said, that Senators were mistaken if they supposed he required a retraction of what Father Mathew had signed in O'Connell's address to the Irishmen in America. He understood that Southern temperance societies had addressed Father Mathew letters on this subject, to which replies had been sent; those replies were of such a character as had induced the Southern temperance societies to withdraw their invitations.

Mr. BUTLER asked the Senator from Georgia to explain the circumstances attending the invitation extended by Judge Lumpkin to Father Mathew.

Mr. BERRIEN made the explanation.

Mr. CLEMENS addressed the Senate at length. He defended the institutions of the South, and contrasted the condition of the slaves with the laboring classes in the free States, and claimed the advantage for the slaves. He also contrasted the morals of the Southern portion of the country with the Northern, and claimed the better State for the South.

Mr MASON of Virginia opposed the resolution, and commented upon the course of the Senator from New York.

Mr. HOUSTON advocated warmly the adoption of the resolution, as a small acknowledgment of the incalculable benefits brought about by the philanthropic efforts of Father Mathew. He deprecated the introduction of the topic of Slavery.

Mr. YULEE maintained that a majority of the Senate had no right to bring within the bar any person objectionable to a Senator. The honor proposed by this resolution was greater than conferred upon Lafayette, who was the guest of the nation. He objected to it as a bad precedent.

Mr. CALHOUN said there was no precedent to justify this resolution. He was opposed to it on that ground, it no other. The debate was sufficient to show that the resolution could not pass unanimously, and he thought the compliment a weak one, and calculated to injure the feelings of the reverend gentleman named. It was said this was a strong case for a precedent. So much the better. If you refuse to establish a precedent in a strong case, you can resist all future applications more easily.

The resolution was then put to vote and adopted. The vote stands thus:

YEAS—Messrs. Baldwin, Bell, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Clarke, Clay, Cooper, Davis, of Mass.; Dickinson, Dodge, of Iowa; Douglas, Downs, Felch, Greene, Hamlin, Houston, Jones, Mangum, Miller, Norris, Seward, Shields, Smith, Soule, Stewart, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Berrian, Borland, Butler, Calhoun, Clemens, Davis, of Mississippi; Dawson, Foote, Hunter, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Rusk, Sebastian, Turner, Yulee—18.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22, 1849.

The long and very interesting proceedings of the House to-day, a regular sketch of which, owing to the arrangement of the mails, will not reach you through any other channel, requires me to refrain from the comments upon preliminary and incidental movements, which I had intended to make. It must be sufficient to say that the combined committee of the Whigs and Democrats effected nothing. The Whig committee proposed to the Democratic that they should recommend to their respective parties the adoption of the plurality rule in choosing a Speaker. The Democratic committee of six were equally divided as to the constitutionality of this rule, and reported to the caucus accordingly. The Democratic caucus last night decided against the plurality rule by about 50 to 30. But in order to guard against the contingency of its being proposed in the House, agreed to support Mr. Cobb Mr. Stanton, chairman of the Democratic conference committee, dissented, and it was understood that many Democrats would support the plurality rule. Let the subjoined sketch tell the rest.

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Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, now surprised the House by moving the adoption of the plurality rule in the election of Speaker, since the whole house knew that the decision of the Democrats had been directly the reverse. But it soon became known that he submitted the proposition on his own responsibility alone. His resolution was, that if after three more trials a Speaker should not be elected by a majority, then on the fourth trial, the member having the largest number of votes, provided it was the majority of a quorum of the whole House, should be declared elected. After half an hour's confusion and uproar, occasioned by the motion to adjourn, Mr. Meade presented an amendment to Mr. Stanton's proposition, to the effect that after an ineffectual attempt to elect, all but the four highest candidates should be dropped; that on the two next trials, should there be no election two more should cease to be voted for, and that on the fourth trial, no votes should be conted except those cast for the two members highest on the list upon the previous trial.

Mr. Inge, of Alabama, moved to lay the whole upon the table. The House refused, by the vote of 96 to 124, to lay on the table. This was considered a very important vote, as it seemed to secure the adoption of the plurality rule.

Mr. Kaufman, of Texas, now moved to amend the pending propositions, by the substitution of a plan of his own, offered some days since, for diminishing the number of votes required for a choice, by one on each trial. This was prefaced by a long preamble. Mr. Kauffman withdrew his preamble, and then his main proposition was rejected, ayes 71, noes 148.

Mr. Meade then so altered his amendment that it applied to all the officers of the House, as well as to Speaker. It was rejected, ayes 12, noes 104.

Now came a most interesting movement. The vote was to be taken on the plurality rule that was to effect, by its operation, the election of Speaker.

Mr. Giddings moved as a substitute for it, a declaration that the rule for an election recognized by the constitution was by a majority, and that the plurality proposition was therefore a violation thereof.

Mr. Stanton made the point of order that the amendment was of a character foreign to the original proposition.—Here followed a scene of great disorder and agitation. Mr. Holmes, with all his powers, called for the yeas and nays on the point of order, while the majority as lustily bellowed for the yeas and nays on the original resolution. The yeas and nays were refused to Mr. Holmes and Mr. Giddings by the vote of 31 to 146.

It was then assumed that Mr. Gidding's amendment had been ruled out of order, but in truth I do not think any vote was taken upon it. Then came thick as snow flakes motions to adjourn, with calls for the yeas and nays. But all motions and suggestions tending to delay were voted down, and the yeas and nays were called on Mr. Stanton's motion for the plurality vote. It was carried—yeas 113, nays 106.

Now we appeared on the verge of a grand crisis.—According to the programme now agreed upon, we were but two or three hours distant from a Speaker, from the end of the exciting and unfortunate contest of three weeks

Then were cries of "adjourn" "go on with the voting," "let's finish the work to night" &c.

Mr. Stanley, on the part of the whigs, and Mr. McClernand, on that of the democrats, declined being longer voted for.

The telegraph thus continues the report of our correspondent:

The clerk summoned the tellers, and the following votes were taken previous to the departure of the cars:

SIXTY-FIRST BALLOT.

Winthrop, whig,	60	Strong, dem.	4
Cobb, dem.	95	Potter, dem.	3
Wilmot, free soil,	9	Boyd, dem.	3
Bowie, whig,	1	Cobb, of Ala. dem.	4
McGaughey, whig,	4	Durkee, free soil,	1
Morehead whig,	4		
Total,			218
Necessary to a choice by majority,			110

During the balloting, Mr. Levin appeared in the hall, and he and Mr. Carter voted.

The House again voted, with the annexed result:

SIXTY-SECOND BALLOT.

Winthrop, whig,	92	Toombs, whig,	1
Cobb, dem.	96	Boyd, dem.	3
Wilmot, free soil,	9	Potter,

Poetry.

THE MORNING VISIT.

BY O. W. HOLMES.

A sick man's chamber, though it often boast
The grateful presence of a literal toast,
Can hardly claim amidst its various wealth
The right, unchallenged, to propose a health;
Yet though its tenent is denied the feast,
Friendship must launch his sentiment at least,
As prisoned damsels, locked from lovers' lips,
Toss them a kiss from off their fingers' tips.

The Morning Visit;—not till sickness falls
In the charmed circles of your own safe walls:
Till fever's throb, and pain's relentless rack,
Stretch you, all helpless, on your aching back;
Not till you play the patient in your turn,
The morning visit's mystery shall you learn.

'Tis a small matter in your neighbor's case.
To charge your fee for showing him your face;
You skip up stairs, inquire, inspect, and touch,
Proscribe, take leave, and off to twenty such.
But when at length, by fate's transferred decree,
The visitor becomes the visitee,
O then, indeed,—it pulls another string,
Your ox is gored,—and that's a different thing!
Your friend is sick; phlegmatic as a Turk,
You write your recipe and let it work;
Not yours to stand the shiver and the frown,
And sometimes worse, with which your draught goes down:
Calm as a clock your knowing hand directs,
Rhei, Jalapa, ana grana sex,
Or traces on some tender missive's back,
Scrupulos duos pulveris Ipecac;
And leaves your patient to his qualms and gripes,
Cool as a sportsman banging at his snipes.

But change the time, the person, and the place,
And be yourself the "interesting case,"
You'll gain some knowledge which 'tis well to learn,
In future practice it may serve your turn.
Leeches, for instance,—pleasing creatures quite,
Try them,—and, bless you,—don't you find they bite?
You raise a blister for the smallest cause,
But be yourself the great sublime it draws,
And trust my statement, you will not deny,
The worst of draughtsmen is your Spanish Fly!
'Tis mighty easy, ordering when you please,
Infusi Sennæ, capiat uncias tres;
'Tis mighty different when you quackle down,
Your own three ounces of the liquid brown.
Pilula pulvis,—pleasant words enough,
When other jaws receive the shocking stuff;
But oh, what flattery can disguise the groan,
That meets the gulp which sends it through your own!
Be gentle, then, though Art's unsparing rules
Give you the handling of her sharpest tools;
Use them not rashly,—sickness is enough,—
Be always "ready," but be never "rough."

Of all the ills that suffering man endures,
The largest fraction liberal Nature cures;
Of those remaining, 'tis the smallest part
Yields to the efforts of judicious Art;
But simple *kindness* kneeling by the bed,
To shift the pillow for the sickman's head,
Give the fresh draught to cool the lips that burn,
Fan the hot brow, the weary frame to turn;
Kindness—untutored by our grave M. D.'s,
But Nature's graduate, whom she schools to please,
Wins back more sufferers with her voice and smile,
Than all the trumpery in the druggist's pile.

Once more, be *quiet*,—coming up the stairs,
Don't be a plantigrade, a human bear,
But stealing softly on the silent toe,
Reach the sick chamber ere you're heard below.
Whatever changes there may greet your eyes,
Let not your looks proclaim the least surprise;
'Tis not your business by your face to show,
All that your patient does not want to know;
Nay use your optics with considerate care,
And don't abuse your privilege to stare,
But if your eyes may probe him overmuch,
Beware still further how you rudely touch;
Don't clutch his corpus in your icy fist,
But warm your fingers ere you take the wrist;
If the poor victim needs must be percussed,
Don't make an anvil of his aching bust,
(Doctors exist within a hundred miles,
Who thum a thorax as they'd hammer piles.)
If you must listen to his doubtful chest,
Catch the essentials, and ignore the rest.
Spare him: the sufferer wants of you and art
A track to steer by, not a finished chart;
So of your questions,—don't in mercy try
To pump your patient absolutely dry,
He's not a mollusc squirming in a dish,
You're not Agassiz, and he's not a fish.

And last, not least, in each perplexing case,
Learn the sweet magic of a *cheerful face*;
Not always smiling, but at least serene,
When grief and anguish cloud the anxious scene,
Each look, each movement, every word and tone,
Should tell your patient you are all his own;
Not the mere artist, purchased to attend,
But the warm, ready, self-forgetting friend,
Whose genial visit in itself combines
The best of cordials, tonics, anodynes.

Such is the *Visit*, that from day to day
Sheds o'er my chamber its benignant ray.
I give *his* health, who never cared to claim
Her bubbling homage from the tongue of Fame;
Unmoved by praise, he stands by all confest,
The truest, noblest, wisest, kindest, best!

—*Boston Book for* 1850.

Boston, May 30, 1849.

THE OPEN WINDOW.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

The old house by the lindens
Stood silent in the shade,
And on the gravel pathway,
The light and shadow played.

I saw the nursery windows
Wide open to the air,
But the faces of the children
They were no longer there.

The large Newfoundland house-dog
Was standing by the door,
He looked for his little playmates,
Who would return no more.

They walked not under the lindens,
They played not in the hall,
But shadow, and silence, and sadness,
Were hanging over all.

The birds sang in the branches,
With sweet, familiar tone,
But the voices of the children
Will be heard in dreams alone.

And the boy, who walked beside me,
He could not understand
Why closer in mine, ah! closer,
I pressed his soft, warm hand.

—*Southern Literary Messenger.*

O Liberty, thou goddess heavenly bright,
Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight!
Eternal pleasures in thy presence reign,
And smiling plenty leads thy wanton train:
Eas'd of her load, subjection grows more light,
And poverty looks cheerful in thy sight;
Thou mak'st the gloomy face of nature gay,
Giv'st beauty to the Sun, and pleasure to the day.

—*Addison.*

Miscellany.

NEW LETTERS BY CHARLES LAMB.

Some of the must characteristic of Lamb's unique Letters, it will be remembered by the readers of Talfourd's Lite of the humorist, were addressed to Bernard Barton: whose quiet simplicity seems to have wrought as a kind of antagonism to the opposing passion and wit of Lamb, which, in the medium of this correspondence, became finally tempered and humanized. The Quaker poet was a man to be trusted too. Lamb seems to have turned from his tragic studies among the old dramatists, his own domestic sorrows, or the reckless improvident life of the London literateur, with a kind of boyish eagerness to the rural "water brooks" of Bernard Barton. He wrote to him his kindest, most playful letters, in his most genial mood. A few of these letters have just come to light in a publication by subscription, since Barton's death, of the latter's "Letters and Poems." They were reserved from Talfourd's hands probably by their personal references to Barton's affairs, but they are now given to the world with propriety.

The following was addressed to Barton on his complaint of ill health from sedentary occupation at his banker's desk.—*Literary World.*

ELIA ON PERSONAL MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE.

"You are too much apprehensive about your complaint. I know many that are always ailing of it, and live on to a good old age. I know a merry fellow (you partly know him) who, when his medical adviser told him he had drunk away all *that part*, congratulated himself (now his liver was gone) that he should be the longest liver of the two. The best way in these cases is to keep yourself as ignorant as you can—as ignorant as the world was before Galen—of the entire inner constructions of the animal man; not to be conscious of a midriff; to hold kidneys (save of sheep and swine) to be an agreeable fiction: not to know whereabouts the gall grows: to account the circulation of the blood a mere idle whim of Harvey's: to acknowledge no mechanism not visible. For, once fix the seat of your disorder, and your fancies flux into it like so many bad humors. Those medical gentry choose each his favorite part, one takes the lungs—another the aforesaid liver, and refers to that whatever in the animal economy is amiss. Above all, use exercise, take a little more spirituous liquors, learn to smoke, continue to keep a good conscience, and avoid tamperings with hard terms of art—viscosity, scirrhosity, and those bugbears by which simple patients are scared into their graves. Believe the general sense of the mercantile world, which holds that desks are not deadly. It is the mind, good B. B., and not the limbs, that taints by long sitting. Think of the patience of tailors—think how long the Lord Chancellor sits—think of the brooding hen."

The next has been published before, but its lesson is worth repeating, and it succeeds as a further reply to Barton's discontent with the bank—the thought of trusting entirely to his pen.

ELIA ON DEPENDENCE UPON BOOKSELLERS.

"*9th January*, 1823.

"Throw yourself on the world without any rational plan of support beyond what the chance employ of booksellers would afford you!!!

"Throw yourself rather, my dear sir, from the steep Tarpeian rock, slap-dash headlong upon iron spikes. If you have but five consolatory minutes between the desk and the bed, make much of them, and live a century in them, rather than turn slave to the booksellers. They are Turks and Tartars when they have poor authors at their beck. Hitherto you have been at arm's length from them. Come not within their grasp. I have known many authors want for bread—some repining—others enjoying the blest security of a counting-house—all agreeing they had rather have been tailors, weavers,—what not?—rather than the things they were. I have known some starved, some to go mad, one dear friend literally dying in a workhouse. You know not what a rapacious dishonest set those booksellers are. Ask even Southey, who (a single case almost) has made a fortune by book-drudgery, what he has found them. O you know not, may you never know! the miseries of subsisting by authorship! 'T is a pretty appendage to a situation like yours or mine: but a slavery worse than all slavery, to be a bookseller's dependent, to drudge your brains for pots of ale and breasts of mutton, to change your free thoughts and voluntary numbers for ungracious task-work. The booksellers hate us. The reason I take to be, that, contrary to other trades, in which the master gets all the credit (a jeweller or silversmith for instance,) and the journeyman, who really does the fine work, is in the background: in *our* work the world gives all the credit to *us*, whom *they* consider as *their* journeymen, and therefore do they hate us, and cheat us, and oppress us, and would bring the blood of us out, to put another sixpence in their mechanic pouches.

* * * * *

"Keep to your bank, and the bank will keep you. Trust not to the public: you may hang, starve, drown yourself for anything that worthy personage cares. I bless every star that Providence, not seeing good to make me independent, has seen it next good to settle me upon the stable foundation of Leadenhall. Sit down, good B. B., in the banking office: what! is there not from six to eleven, P. M., six days in the week, and is there not all Sunday! Fie, what a superfluity of man's time, if you could think so! Enough for relaxation, mirth, converse, poetry, good thoughts, quiet thoughts. O the corroding, torturing, tormenting thoughts that disturb the brain of the unlucky wight, who must draw on it for daily sustenance! Henceforth I retract all my fond complaints of mercantile employment—look upon them as lovers' quarrels. I was but half in earnest. Welcome dead timber of a desk that gives me life! A little grumbling is a wholesome medicine for the spleen, but in my inner heart do I approve and embrace this our close but unharrassing way of life I am quite serious.

"Yours truly,

"C. Lamb."

The booksellers are run rather hard, but Lamb at that time did not sell! Were he alive now he would find some magnificent fellows in the trade.

A little later a subscription was got up by some members of the Society of Friends for a pension for Barton, concerning which the latter consulted Lamb. It was a tempting chance, and Elia replied quizzically.

ELIA ON THE ACCEPTANCE OF A PENSION.

"*March 24th*, 1824:

"Dear B. B.:

"I hasten to say that if my opinion can strengthen you in your choice, it is decisive for your acceptance of what has been so handsomely offered. I can see nothing injurious to your most honorable sense. Think that you are called to a poetical ministry—nothing worse—the minister is worthy of his hire.

"The only objection I feel is founded on a fear that the acceptance may be a temptation to you to let fall the bone (hard as it is) which is in your mouth, and must afford tolerable pickings, for the shadow of independence. You cannot propose to become independent on what the low state of interest could afford you from such a principal as you mention; and the most graceful excuse for the acceptance would be, that it left you free to your voluntary functions: that is the less *light* part of the scruple. It has no darker shade. I put in *darker*, because of the ambiguity of the word light, which Donne, in his admirable poem on the Metempsychosis, has so ingeniously illustrated in his invocation—

'Make my *dark heavy* poem *light* and *light*—'

where the two senses of *light* are opposed to different opposites. A trifling criticism.—I can see no reason for any scruple, then, but what arises from your own interest; which is in your own power, of course, to solve. If you still have doubts, read over Sanderson's 'Cases of Conscience,' and Jeremy Taylor's 'Ductor Dubitantium:' the first a moderate octavo, the latter a folio of nine hundred close pages: and when you have thoroughly digested the admirable questions *pro* and *con* which they give for every possible case, you will be —just as wise as when you began. Every man is his own casuist; and, after all, as Ephraim Smooth, in the pleasant comedy of Wild Oats, has it, 'There is no harm in a guinea.' *A fortiori*, there is less in two thousand.

"I therefore most sincerely congratulate with you, excepting so far as excepted above. If you have fair prospects of adding to the principal, cut the bank; but in either case, do not refuse an honest service. Your heart tells you it is not offered to bribe you *from* any duty, but *to* a duty which you feel to be your vocation.

"Farewell heartily,

"C. L."

BURYING ALIVE.

The moment which converts a sensitive body to inanimate matter is often indistinguishable; but one would hardly think that any one who had deliberately contemplated a corpse—icy, stiff, and motionless, with nothing of humanity except the form—could suppose that life might put on the "borrowed likeness of shrunk death," and men, who were still of the present world, be consigned by mistake to a living tomb. Yet many persons, especially women, are so haunted with the idea, that they will almost fear to sleep lest they should wake with six feet of earth for their covering and a coffin for their bed. Solemn physicians abroad—for in England these terrorists boast no educated disciples—have written books to accredit the belief and add a deeper horror to the grave. Each successive production of the kind, however, is little more than a resuscitation of the forgotten predecessor, from which it differs about as much as the Almanac of this year from the Almanac of last. In 1834, Julia de Fontenelle, a man of science—if several lines of philosophical titles written after his name are a voucher for the character—published his "Medico-legal Researches on the Uncertainty of the Signs of Death," which volume is at present, we believe, the standard one on the subject. The horror of being buried alive was his least motive for rousing up the public to a sense of their danger. Convinced, he said, that unwholesome diet and evil passions, the abuse of drugs and the ignorance of physicians, are but too successful in swelling the number of the undoubted dead, he conceives it his duty in compensation to preserve to society the many who were only dead in appearance. He seems to have persuaded himself that burial-grounds are a species of human slaughter-house, and, if he had read the English Martyrology, would have seen something more than a lying legend in the story of St. Frithstane, who, saying one evening masses for the dead in the open air, as he pronounced the words *requiescant in pace*, heard a chorus of voices from the surrounding graves respond loudly *Amen*. M. Fontenelle's hopes of recruiting the population from the churchyards are grounded on a hundred cases of apparent deaths gleaned from the entire history of the world—a rather slender counterpoise to the victims of passion, gluttony, drugs, and physicians, even if the instances were all well founded and all to the purpose. 'He cheats by pence, is cheated by the pound.' But of his examples those which are true are inappicable, and those which are applicable are unsubstantial:

The marvellous is most credible when left to the imagination: the attempt to verify it dissipates the illusion. Supernatural appearances seemed to be probable when the argument rested on the general belief: nothing more unlikely when the specific facts were collected and weighed. A volume of ghost stories is the best refutation of ghosts. That persons, by every outward sign long dead, have revived, is also among the opinions that have found adherents in all countries, and many are the superstitions to which it has given rise. Roger North, in his Life of Lord Keeper, mentions that the Turks, if a noise is heard in a tomb, dig up the corpse, and, as one method of making matters sure, chop it into pieces. He adds, that some English merchants, riding at Constantinople in company with a Janizary, passed an aged and shrivelled Jew, who was sitting on a sepulchre. The Janizary never doubted that of this sepulchre the Jew himself was the rightful tenant, and ordered him back to his grave, after rating him soundly for stinking the world a second time. Nations sunk lower in barbarism give credence to fables still more absurd, though they do not exceed in extravagance what we might expect from the exaggerations of ignorance and terror, if the cries and struggles of buried men had been heard disturbing the stillness of the tomb; but the moment an effort is made to substantiate the belief by authentic examples the edifice is overthrown by the very endeavor to build it up. Timidity itself would take courage on reading the terrific register of the credulous Fontenelle. An examination of his proof while it indicates the precautions that are prudent to be taken, will reassure those who are accustomed to shrink from the semblance of death, with its frightful accompaniments, far more than they dread the reality; for it will show that, unless by culpable recklessness and haste, there is no possibility that a single individual should be entombed before his turn.

The first page shows how much his criticism has been outstripped by his zeal, for he counts among the victims of *error* the Emperor Zenon, who is said to have been interred when he was drunk by the order of his wife, ambitious of his crown. M. Fontenelle himself relates, that for two nights he continually cried from his capacious sepulchre, 'have mercy on me! Take me out!' and surely his petition would not have been in vain if they had buried him in good faith through an unhappy mistake. Horrors never come singly: it is added that in his hunger he ate up his shoes and the flesh of his arms. A case among the accidents, that of an Archbishop Geron—when or where he lived is not told—has a close resemblance to the end of poor Zenon:—

'He waked in his boat and to Charon he said
That he would be rowed back, for he was not yet dead.'

But the persons who heard him shouting from the sepulchre refused to believe him, and he was left to his fate. There was an Abbé who had better luck. He revived on the way to the grave; and his attendants having thought fit to bury his cat with him, which sat like a night-mare upon his chest, the Abbé employed his returning strength to drive off the incubus. The animal mewed with the pain, and more regard being paid to the remonstrances of a cat than to those of an Archbishop, the procession was stopped and the coffin unscrewed. Out jumped the cat, and immediately after the dead man followed, and took to his heels. The bearers are said to have been 'frozen with fear,' and the cat and the Abbe must have partaken of the chill. Some who came off with life, have yet had reason to rue their misconception. A gentleman of Rouen, returning from a tour just as his wife was being borne to the tomb, he ordered back the coffin, and had a surgeon to make five-and-twenty incisions on the corpse—a strange method of cherishing the remnant of existence, if he suspected any. Nevertheless at the twenty-sixth incision, which went deeper than the rest, she mildly inquired 'What mischief they were doing her?' and she survived to bear her husband six-and-twenty children—a pledge for every gash. An English soldier showed more vigor and less endurance than this meekest of women. He was carried to the diesecting room of a French hospital, where a student to practise anatomy, cut his jugular vein. Furious with rage and pain, he leapt upon the student and flung him to the ground, where he fainted with alarm. The soldier must have been a disciple of the laughter-loving Roderick Random, who counterfeited death on his recovery from a fever, and snapped at the fingers of the surgeon as he was closing his eyes. But the more valorous son of Mars had nearly carried the jest too far, when he suffered his jugular vein to be opened before he 'played out the play.' Zadig, in Voltaire's story, pretends to be dead to test the affection of his wife; and his friend, who is in the plot, applies immediately to the vacant post, and feigns a pain in his side, which nothing can cure except the application of a dead man's nose. But when the widow, deeming that a living lover is worth more than a departed husband, advances to the coffin with an open razor to take possession of the specific, Zadig is wise enough to cover his nose with one hand while he thrusts the instrument aside with the other. A man of war, who had the good fortune to recover in a dissecting room without the aid of a knife, seeing himself surrounded, on opening his eyes, by mutilated bodies, exclaimed, 'I perceive that the action has been hot!' And if M. Fontenelle had opened *his* eyes he might easily have perceived that the anecdote was a jest. Indeed such is his credulity, that the story of a surgeon addicted to cards, whose death had been tested by bawling in his ears, rising up when a friend whispered in the language of piquet, 'a quint, fourteen and the point,' has been mistaken by him for an extraordinary case of resuscitation, instead of a commonplace joke on the passion for play. The jest book has always contributed abundant materials for the compilers of horrors. Several anecdotes turn on that inexhaustible theme for merriment—the sorrows of matrimony. In passing through a street a bier was struck against the corner of a house, and the corpse reanimated by the shock. Some years afterwards, when the woman died in good earnest, her husband called to the bearers, 'Pray, gentlemen, be careful in turning the corners.' Thus there is not even a step from the mirthful to the terrible. The stories, unaltered, do double duty.

Two Parisian merchants, bound together in close friendship, had one a son and the other a daughter, who were friends and something more. The daughter, compelled by her parents to sacrifice her lover for a wealthy suitor, fell into what M. Fontenelle calls an 'hysterical syncope,' and was buried. Fortune frowns upon lovers that she may enhance the value of her smiles. A strange instinct induced her adorer to disinter the body, and he had the double pleasure of delivering the fair one from a horrible death and a hateful husband. Holding that the interment had broken the marriage tie, they fled to England, but at the end of ten years ventured back to Paris, where the lady was met by her original husband, who, nowayS surprised that she should have revisited the earth, nor staggered by her denials, laid a formal claim to her in a court of justice. The lover boldly sustained that he who rescued her from death had more right to her than the claimant who interred her alive; but the doctrine being new to a court of law, the prudent pair anticipated the decision by returning to England, where they finally terminated their adventures. The plot and morality of the story are thoroughly characteristic of M. Fontonelle's notion, and the simplicity which believes it is not less so of himself. The countrymen of Shakspeare will recognize a French version of Romeo and Juliet. All ladies are not blest with resurrection lovers, but covetousness will sometimes do the work of chivalry. A domestic visited his mistress in her tomb, enticed by a diamond ring, which resisting his efforts to draw it off, he proceeded to amputate the finger. Thereupon the mistress revives, and the domestic dropped down dead with alarm: 'Thus,' says M. Fontenelle, 'death had its prey; it was only the victim which was changed.' He gives further on a simple story in which the lady with the ring was supposed to have died in child-birth, and some grave-diggers were the thieves. In the hurry of their flight they left a lantern which served to light the lady to her door. 'Who's there?' inquired the girl who answered the knock. 'Your mistress,' was the reply. The servant needed to hear no more; she rushed into the room where her master was sitting, and informed him that the spirit of his wife was at the door. He rebuked the girl for her folly, and assured her that her mistress was in Abraham's bosom, but on looking out of the window the well-known voice exclaimed. 'For pity's sake, open the door. Do you forget that I have just been confined, and that cold in my condition will be fatal?" This was not the doubt which troubled his mind, nor was it the first observation we should have expected a wife to address to her husband, when, newly released from her grave by an almost miraculous deliverance, she suddenly appeared before him in the dead of night wearing the habiliments of the tomb. But as the husband was satisfied, it is is not for us to be critical. Numerous places are declared to have been the scene of the incident of the ring, which M. Fontenelle considers to be cumulative testimony to its truth. We should have thought, on the contrary, that his faith would have been diminished as the stories increased. Marvels rarely go in flocks. In the present instance few need be told that M. Fontenelle has been drawing upon the standard literature of the nursery—that the ring story is one of those with which children from time immemorial have been terrified and amused. "The nurse's legends are for truth received," and to the inventions which entertained their infancy many are indebted for their after apprehensions iest the fate at which they shuddered in another should prove prophetic of their own. M. Fontenelle has himself thought that it would help out his subject to insert the poem of a M. Lesguillon, in which he relates from imagination the burial and resurrection of a lady who was set free at the crisis of her despair, by the accident of the sexton cleaving her coffin with the spade. What calls forth M. Fontenelle's special admiration is that the author has "wedded reason to rhyme," and it is impossible to deny that there is as much reason in M. Lesguillon's verse as in M. Fontenelle's prose.—*Extract: Signs of Death in Lodnon Quarterly.*

GREAT BANQUET TO THE POTATO ON HIS LATE RECOVERY.

That mighty respectable vegetable, the Potato, being now, it is hoped, thoroughly re-established in health, it was determined by a few leading members of the Vegetable Kingdom to offer a banquet to the worthy and convalescent root on his happy recovery. The arrangements for the dinner were on a scale of great liberality, and the guests included all the principal vegetables. The invitations had been carried out by an efficient *corps* of Scarlet Runners, and the Onion occupied the chair. He was supported on his right by the head of the Asparagus family, while Salad occupied a bowl at the other end of the table, and was dressed in his usual manner. The potato, though just out of his bed, was looking remarkably well, and wore his jacket, there being nothing to mark his recent illness, except perhaps a little apparent blackness round one of his eyes. After the cloth had been removed,

The Onion got up to propose as a toast, the Potato, their much respected guest. (*Immense cheering.*) He, the Onion, had known the Potato from infancy; and though they had not always been associated in life, they had frequently met at the same table. They had sometimes braved together the same broils, and found themselves often in such a stew (he alluded to the Irish stew) as had brought them, for the time being into an alliance of the very closest kind. He, the Onion, was delighted to see the Potato once more restored to his place in society; for he, the Onion, could say without flattery that society had endeavored to supply the place of the Potato in vain. (*Hear, hear.*) They had heard of Rice having been suggested to take the place of his honorable friend, but the suggestion was really ridiculous. *Risum teneatis, amici*, was all that he, the Onion, had to say to that." (*Loud laughter, in which all but the Melon joined.*) He, the Onion, would not detain them longer, but would conclude by proposing health, long life, and prosperity to the Potato.

The toast was received with enthusiasm by all but the Cucumber, whose coolness seemed to excite much disgust among his brother vegetables. The Onion had, in fact, affected many of those present to tears, and the Celery, who sat next to the Horseradish, hung down his head in an agony of sensibility. When the cheering had partially subsided, the Potato rose, but that was only a signal for renewed enthusiasm, and it was some minutes before silence was restored. At length the Potato proceeded nearly as follows:

"Friends and fellow vegetables. It is with difficulty that I express the feeling with which I have come here to-day. Having suffered for the last three or four years from a grievous disease which seemed to threaten me with total dissolution; it is with intense satisfaction I find myself once more among you in the vigor of health. (*Cheers.*) I should be indeed insensible to kindness, were I to forget the anxious inquiries that have been made as to the state of my health, by those who have held me in esteem, and sometimes in a steam. (*A laugh, in which all but the Melon joined.*) I cannot boast of a long line of ancestors. I did not, like some of you, come in with the Conqueror, but I came in the train of civilization amidst the memorable luggage of Sir Walter Raleigh, in company with my Right Honorable friend the Tobacco, who is not now present, but who often helps the philosopher to take a bird's eye view of some of the finest subjects for reflection. (*Immence cheering, and a nod of assent from the Turnip Top.*) Though I may be a foreigner, I may justly say, that I have taken root in the soil, and though I may not have the grace of the Cucumber, who seems to have come here in no enviable frame (*loud cheering*) I believe I have done as much good as any living vegetable; for, though almost always at the rich man's table, I am seldem absent from the poor man's humble board. (*Tremendous applause.*) "But," continued the Potato, "let me not get flowery, or mealy-mouthed, for there is something objectionable in each extreme. I have undergone many vicissitudes in the course of my existence. I have been served up, aye, and served out (*a smile*) in all sorts of ways. I have been roasted by some; I have been basted by others; and I have had my jacket rudely torn off my back by many who knew not the treatment I deserved. But this meeting, my friends, repays me for all. Excuse me if my eyes are watery. (*Sensation.*) I am not very thin-skinned; but I feel deeply penetrated by your kindness this day.

The Potato resumed his seat amid the most tumultuous cheering, which lasted for a considerable time.—*Punch's Correspondent in Vegetaria.*

NON OMNIA POSSUMUS OMNES.

The meaning of this Latin proverb is, "Not every body can do every thing." We have been reminded of it by seeing, of late that some men, and some editors even, cannot tell how many years it takes to make the half of a hundred. Even our neighbors of the *American Messenger*, whose monthly sheet for January, 1850, has already made its appearance—printed in a style which no ordinary newspaper can afford to be printed—have fallen into the mistake of supposing that with the close of the year 1849, the first half of the current century is completed. Other newspapers are beginning to throw out intimations of the same kind. And it may be presumed, without any special disrespect, that as many as a thousand preachers of various denominations in the United States are already beginning to meditate the sermons which they will preach about the completion of the half-century, on the first Sabbath in January next. The old Latin proverb, "*Non omnia possumus omnes*," may be safely enough translated, "It is not every body that can tell whether forty-nine is the same as fifty."

The years of the Christian era, so called, begin to be counted from the *supposed* date of Christ's birth; though in fact the commencement of the era differs by about four years from the actual date of the Savior's incarnation. Suppose a man to have been born—as those who introduced our mode of dating supposed that Christ was born—on the first day of the year 2. Then tell us if you can how many years he had lived on the first day of the year 50. Had he on that day completed half a century of human life, or was he only beginning his fiftieth year? Count on to the end of the first century. When was that century completed? Did the year 100 belong to the first century, or to the second? If the second century began on the first of January, A. D. 100, then the first century contained only 99 years; and if ninety-nine make a hundred in one case, why should not ninety-nine be a hundred in all cases? If then it must be admitted that as the first century began with the beginning of the year 1, so the second century must have begun with the beginning of the year 101; why must it not be admitted also that this nineteenth century began on the first day of January, 1801? And if the century began on that day, at the first moment that marked the close of the year 1800, pray tell us whether there is any arithmetical possibility of completing the first half of this nineteenth century prior to the midnight clock-striking that shall tell the last moment of the year 1850.

On the whole it may be made a theme of gratulation that the lapse of the year, and the 'notching of the centuries' does not depend on the determination of our neighbors at the Tract House, and of others, who seem resolved to seize the coming half-century by the forelock and bring it upon the world a year too soon. Each year of the forty-nine has brought in turn its mercies, its opportunities, its changes; and each in the tracing of its records has chronicled the progress of God's redeeming and renewing work. Let us wait for the fiftieth, if God will permit us to see its beginning and its close; and let us hope and pray and struggle that the close of the half-century may find that great and blessed work in which the redeemed are permitted to be coworkers with the world's Redeemer, far in advance of where it stands at the close of 1849.—*Independent.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

"It is stated in a letter from Pesth," says *Galignani*, "that the numerous members of Kossuth's family in prison at Buda have lately been treated more kindly.

M. Quetelet has made public the result of his examinations as to the different size (magnitude) of the eye at the various epochs of life. The large blue or black eyes of women are dear unto poets; but only from the age of 3 to 13 are female eyes an equal size with male. In all other years they are smaller. From 18 to 30, men's eyes are 30 millemetres; women's 28; from 30 and upwards men's eyes are 30 millemetres; women's 27.

The *Mona's Herald* contains an extract from a letter written by an Englishman in America to a friend in the Isle of Man: "On board the steamer at St. Louis, a young Missourian took a fancy for my printed cotton shirt, and asked would I swop; a trade was struck—I receiving his shirt with three rattle-snake's rattles, a water-melon, and a recipe for the cure of whooping-cough for mine; the coveted shirt was transferred from my back to his—he remarking that it was well aired, which was the case, as I had worn it a week."

The *London Times* puts a strong case thus: "We have lately paid £2,000,000 for the expenses of a war with which the people of this country had no more to do, and in which they were no more interested or consulted, than in the Peloponesian or the second Punic war. There are more Englishmen who could pass an examination on the seige of Platæa, its antecedents, its provocations, and its results, than who could show the like knowledge of our late campaign with the Caffres."

African Discovery.—The *London Times* says:—"We are informed that Government has determined to afford effectual assistance to Mr. Richardson, the African traveller, in prosecuting his travels and researches in the great desert of Sahara, Soudan, and the regions of Bornou and the Lake Tchad. We understand that it will be part of the duties of Mr. Richardson to endeavor to bring the chiefs and princes of the interior of Africa into relations of commerce and amity with this country. Mr. Richardson is enjoined to embrace every opportunity of impressing upon the minds of the people and princes of Africa that legitimate commerce is preferable to that of the traffic in men. Mr. Richardson will be accompanied by Drs. Barth and Overweg, Prussian savans, who are charged by Government to draw up a scientific report."

The Gender of Mysteries.—There is not a mystery in creation, the symbol or practical invention, for meaning abstruse, recondite, and incomprehensible, which is not represented by the female gender. There is the Sphynx, and the Enigma, and the Chimera, and the Isis, whose veil no man had ever lifted; they were all ladies, every one of them. And so was Prosperine and Hecate, who was one thing by night and another by day. The Sybils were females, and so were the Gorgons, the Harpies, the Fuiries, the Fates, and the Teutonic Valkyrs, Nornies; and, in short, all representation of ideas, obscure, inscrutable, and portentous, are nouns feminine.—*Ibid*

The Different Color of the Jews.—Although the Jew becomes the subject of every form of government, from the autocracy of Russia to the democracy of America, he retains his theocratic creed. Neither barbarism the most rude, nor civilization the most refined, have succeeded in altering his peculiar countenance; for in the back woods of the New World, and at the court of the British Sovereign, he is instantly known. Time that changes all things else, seems to stay his rough hand when he approaches the Jew. Compare his lineaments, sculptured in marble and cast in bronze—for the arch and medal of Titus still exist—with those of the living Jew, and be convinced of his unchangeableness. This permanence of physiognomy is evidently traceable to a supernatural cause, which prevents the usual modification of features, in order to accomplish an important object. Into this it is not our province now to enter, yet we cannot help remarking that the Jew is a witness not of one truth, but of many truths. Marvellously does he illustrate the consistency of the original unity of man with the most extensive diversity. His features havebeen cast in an eternal mould, but his color is dependent on outward causes. Natural law is forbidden to operate on the one, but left to take its course with respect to the other. A fixed physiognomy declares the unity of the people, while their diversity of complexion as distinctly manifests the influence of climate. Every shade of color clothes with its livery the body of the Jew, from the jet black of the Hindoo, to the ruddy white of the Saxon. The original inhabitant of Palestine was doubtless dusky skinned and dark haired; but the cooler sky and more temperate air of Poland and Germany have substituted a fair complexion and light hair. On the other hand, the scorching sun of India has curled and crisped his hair, and blackened his skin, so that his features alone distinguish him physically from the native Hindoo. On the Malabar coast of Hindostan are two colonies of Jews—(an old and a young colony)—separated by color. The elder colony are black, and the younger (dwelling in a town called Mattacheri) comparatively fair, so as to have obtained the name of the "White Jews." This difference is satisfactorily accounted for by the former having been subjected to the influence of the climate for a much longer time than the latter.—*Freemasons' Quarterly Review.*

Mr. Charles Dicken's Substitute for Public Executions.—Mr. Charles Dickens has written a second letter on public executions. His positions in reference to their demoralizing nature he states to be, "First—That they chiefly attract as spectators of mankind, in whom they inspire no wholesome emotions whatever. Secondly—That the public infliction of a violent death is not a salutary spectacle for any class of people; but that it is, in the nature of things, that on the class by whom it is generally witnessed, it should have a debasing and hardening influence." These positions he supports by his experience at the late execution. To prevent such spectacles in a Christian country, and all the incalculable evils they engender, he would have the last sentence of the law executed with comparative privacy within the prison walls. "From the moment of a murderer's being sentenced to death, I would dismiss him to the dread of obscurity to which the wisest judge upon the bench consigned the murderer Rush. I would allow no curious visitors to hold any communication with him; I would place every obstacle in the way of his sayings and doings being served up in print on Sunday mornings for the perusal of families. His execution within the walls of the prison should be conducted with every terrible solemnity that careful consideration could with propriety devise.

Mr. Calcraft, the hangman (of whom I have some information in reference to this last occasion,) should be restrained in his unseemly briskness, in his jokes, his oaths, and his brandy. To attend the execution, I would summon a jury of twenty-four, to be called, the witness jury, eight to be summoned on a low qualification, eight on a higher, and eight on a higher still; so that it might fairly represeut all classes of society. There should be present, likewise, the governor of the gaol, the chaplain, the surgeon, and other officers, the sheriff of the county or city, and two inspectors of prisons. All these should sign a grave and solemn form of certificate [the same in every case] that on such a day, at such an hour, in such a gaol, for such a crime, such a murderer was hanged in their sight. There should be an another certificate from the officers of the prison that the person hanged was that person, and no other; a third, that that person was buried. These should be posted on the prison gate for twenty-one days, printed in the Gazette, and exhibited in other public places; and during the hour of the body's hanging, I would have the bells of all the churches in that town or city, tolled, and all the shops shut up, that all might be reminded of what was being done."

A Speech by "Boz."—Mr. Dickens on Wednesday presided over the first anniversary festival of the "Newsvenders' Benevolent and Provident Institution." His speech was characterized by the peculiar Pickwickian humour. "This institution, though it had a thousand pounds out at interest, was still exceedingly young—its whole life had been passed in the nursery—it was so young, indeed, that it had never until this day come down to show itself after dinner—(loud laughter.) But as there was in the infancy of almost every young creature, a certain period when the frame was collecting vitality and strength, so he believed that this young creature had been employed during the ten years of its existence in taking the necessary amount of sleep and sustenance, and that to-day a young giant was exhibited to them for the first time, which, like the giant in the "Arabian Nights," would kick over the casket which had contained it, and (unlike that giant) never be able to get into it again—(cheers and laughter.) The rapidity with which young children outgrow their clothes was a complaint in many families—he knew it was in his own, and was familiar to them all. If this child of theirs did not grow out of its first suit of a £1,000, and get measured in quick succession for a suit of £2,000, £5,000, or £10,000, the fault would be only theirs, and they would deserve to be made an example of—(cheers.) For himself, as a member of the family, he should not be satisfied unless he had an opportunity of saying to the grown-up bantling, 'I knew you when you were a mere baby, with a very weak chest; I sat at the head of the table on the first occasion when your pinaforte was taken off; and now I see you a strong man, who (if I may venture to adopt the phraseology of the sporting portion of the press) may be heard of once a year at the bar of the Albion, and whose money is ready for comers, and who would be very glad to meet with any customers that might call upon him"—(cheers.)

"It is to be regretted," says a correspondent of the *London Weekly News*, "that Mr. Dickens has abandoned the main argument, and gone from a question of principle to one of practice. That executions should be secret, with the recollections of the secret proceeding in the courtyard of Dublin, in the commencement of this century, is so monstrous, and so contrary to the openness and publicity of our legal proceedings, that it may be dismissed as the mistake of a clever man. It is greatly to be regretted that, as a writer having the ear of the public, Mr. Dickens did not argue the great principle; we hardly think he could advocate capital punishment, but he has, at all events, given a kind of sanction to it by seeking to ameliorate some of its horrors. The chief arguments used for capital punishment all resolve themselves into its being a matter of right to kill the murderer, and a matter of convenience to get rid of so dangerous a member of society. The right is always based on the doubtful text of Scripture announcing—not denouncing—that whosoever spilleth man's blood shall have retribution in the same manner. Now, the right to cause death is taken in many instances by the law. War sanctions it; and many dangerous public as well as private pursuits destroy and shorten life. Still these cannot be held to authorize one death which is not absolutely necessary; and in no civilized country (except in the case of pressing) is any post or office of imminent peril forced on an individual. Individual life, therefore, is sacred in society; and the rule can only be violated on the force